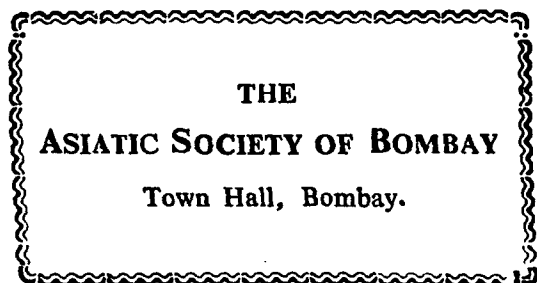




00097127



THE
WORKS
OF
ANDREW MARVELL, Esq.
POETICAL, CONTROVERSIAL, AND POLITICAL,
CONTAINING
Many ORIGINAL LETTERS, POEMS, and TRACTS, never before printed,
WITH A NEW LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
By Capt. EDWARD THOMPSON.

By these three Virtues be the Frame sustain'd,
Of British Freedom: Independent Life;
Integrity in Office; and o'er all
Supreme, a Passion for the Common-Weal.
Hail! Independence, hail! Heav'n's next best Gift,
To that of Life and an immortal Soul!
The Life of Life! that to the Banquet high
And sober Meal gives Taste; to the bow'd Roof
Fair-dream'd Repose, and to the Cottage Charms.

97127
ai

THOMPSON'S LIBERTY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR, BY HENRY BALDWIN,

And sold by DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall; RIDLEY, in St. James's-Street; CADELL, BECKET, and
EVANS, in the Strand; ALMON, Piccadilly; KEARSLEY, in Fleet-Street; WALTER, Charing-Cross;
ROBSON, in Bond-Street; FLEXNEY, in Holborn; DAVIES, in Russel-Street; ROBINSON and
BALDWIN, Pater-noster Row; DILLY, in the Poultry; and by ETHERINGTON, in York.

MDCC LXXVI.



00097127

EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

* T O.

SIR GEORGE SAVILE, BART.

MEMBER FOR THE COUNTY OF YORK,

COLONEL OF THE FIRST BATTALION OF
THE WEST-RIDING MILITIA,

AND FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

S I R,

WHEN I proposed a publication of the works of that excellent and illustrious citizen Andrew Marvell, it was equally expedient in writing, as in painting, to find a companion to such a picture: the choice was ready and obvious, and indeed without an alternative, for these kingdoms boast of no man so like the noble original as the virtuous SIR GEORGE SAVILE. Let unmeaning compliments be the reward of desert; and although I am sensible of the difficulty of delineating

EPISTOLE DIDICHI CLAITO RY.

neating your respectable character at large, yet one single act alone of your life is sufficient to constitute your fame with the Freeholders of your island. To the last period of revolving time the name of Andrew Marvell will remain, nor will yours be less in lustre and glory; for though you set out the last, your race will be equally honourable to the same propitious goal.

When Marvell lived he was the honour of the county of York: his fame in letters, his address and wisdom in Parliament, his spotless integrity and independent virtue, made him the admiration of all. It is no adulation that I profess; it is no flattery which I offer, in declaring you to be the uniform, real Patriot, and the steady friend to the general rights of mankind. May you long continue the ornament of England, to assist her with your salutary counsels, to defend her liberties from the canker-worm of courts, which hath preyed on the Red-rose of freedom's cheek, and injured the most vigorous constitution. May you be the happy instrument to heal those wounds now bleeding in our distracted empire, and reconcile her to her brave, though distressed children. Such a restoration would renew her youth with her years, and give vigour to her wasted arm. May success attend your endeavours for

EPISTLED DEDICATORY

the public welfare; and may you at length receive that honourable fame that follows good works, and every eulogy our language can bestow, as Milton in his Areopagitica expresses it, of men famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty; while one of the first points of my ambition will be to deserve the approbation of the most upright man of this kingdom, which character no virtuous Englishman can deny; and what the base and degenerate refuse, is no dishonour to the fame of SAVILE, nor any mortification to the sentiments of.

S I R,

Your most obedient, humble,

And devoted servant.

London, March 29, 1776.

EDWARD THOMPSON.

THE
REHEARSAL TRANSPOSED:

OR,

ANIMADVERSIONS upon a late BOOK,

INTITULED,

A P R E F A C E,

SHEWING

What Grounds there are of Fears and Jealoufies of Popery.

THE SECOND EDITION CORRECTED.

L O N D O N :

Printed by A. B. for the Assigns of JOHN CALVIN and THEODORE BEZA, at the Sign
of the King's Indulgence, on the South Side of the *Lake Lemane*.

M.DC.LXXII.

ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON THE

Preface to Bishop BRAMHALL's Vindication, &c.

THE author of this Preface had first writ A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Policy ; after that, A Defence and Continuation of the Ecclesiastical Policy ; and there he concludes his epistle to the reader in these words : “ But if this be the penance I must undergo for the “ wantonness of my pen, to answer the impertinent and “ slender exceptions of every peevish and disingenuous “ caviller ; reader, I am reformed from my incontinency “ of scribbling, and do here heartily bid thee an eternal farewell : ” Now this expression lies open to his own dilemma against the nonconformists confessing in their prayers to God such heinous enormities. For if he will not accept his own charge, his modesty is all impudent and counterfeit : or, if he will acknowledge it, why then he had been before, and did still remain upon record, the same lewd, wanton, and incontinent scribler.

4 THE REHEARSAL TRANSPROSED.

But however I hoped he had been a clergyman of honour, and that when herein the world and he himself were now so fully agreed in the censure of his writings, he would have kept his word ; or at least that his pen would not so soon have created us a disturbance of the same nature, and so far manifested how indifferent he is as to the business either of truth or eternity. But the author, alas ! instead of his own, was fallen now into Amaryllis's dilemma : I perceive the gentleman hath travelled by his remembering *Chi lava la testa al asino perde il sapone*, and therefore hope I may without pedantry quote the words in her own whining Italian.

*S'il peccar è sì dolce e'l non peccar sì necessario,
O troppo imperfetta natura che repugna la legge.
O troppo dura legge che natura offendi.*

“ If to scribe be so sweet, and not to scribe be so
“ necessary ;

“ O too frail inclination, that contradicth obligation :

“ O too severe obligation, that offendeth inclination.

For all his promise to write no more, I durst always have laid ten pounds to a crown on nature's side ; and accordingly he hath now blessed us with, as he calls it, “ A Preface, “ shewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies “ of Popery.”

It

It will not be unpleasant to hear him begin his story: “The ensuing treatise of Bishop Bramhall’s being somewhat “superannuated, the Bookseller was very solicitous to have “it set off with some preface that might recommend it to the “genius of the age, and reconcile it to the present juncture “of affairs.” A pretty task indeed: that is as much as to say, to trick up the good old bishop in a yellow coif and a bull’s head, that he may be fit for the publick, and appear in fashion. In the mean time ’tis what I always prefaged: from a writer of books our author is already dwindled to a preface-monger, and from prefaces I am confident he may in a short time be improved to indite tickets for the bear-garden. But the bookseller I see was a cunning fellow, and knew his man; for who so proper as a young priest to sacrifice to the genius of the age: yea, though his conscience were the offering? And none more ready to nick a juncture of affairs than a malapert chaplain; though not one indeed of a hundred but dislocates them in the handling. And yet our author is very maidenly, and condescends to his bookseller not without some reluctance, as being, forsooth, first of all none of the most zealous patrons of the press.

Though he hath so lately forfeited his credit, yet herein I dare believe him: for the press hath ought him a shame a long time, and is but now beginning to pay off the debt.

The

The prefs (that villanous engine) invented much about the same time with the Reformation, that hath done more mischief to the discipline of our church, than all the doctrine can make amends for; it was an happy time when all learning was in manuscript, and some little officer, like our author, did keep the keys of the library. When the clergy needed no more knowledge than to read the liturgy, and the laity no more clerkship than to save them from hanging. But now since printing came into the world, such is the mischief that a man cannot write a book but presently he is answered. Could the prefs but once be conjured to obey only an *imprimatur*, our author might not disdain perhaps to be one of its most zealous patrons. There have been wayes found out to banish ministers, to find not only the people, but even the grounds and fields where they assembled in conventicles, but no art yet could prevent these seditious meetings of letters. Two or three brawny fellows in a corner, with meer ink and elbow-grease, do more harm than an hundred systematical divines with their sweaty preaching. And, which is a strange thing, the very sponges, which one would think should rather deface and blot out the whole book, and were anciently used to that purpose, are become now the instruments to make things legible. Their ugly printing-letters, that look but like so many rotten-teeth, how oft have they been pulled out by B. and L. the public-tooth-drawers! and yet
these

these rascally operators of the prefs have got a trick to fasten them again in a few minutes, that they grow as firm a set and as biting and talkative as ever. O printing! how hast thou disturbed the peace of mankind! that lead, when moulded into bullets, is not so mortal as when founded into letters! There was a mistake sure in the story of Cadmus; and the serpent's teeth which he sowed, were nothing else but the letters which he invented. The first essay that was made towards this art, was in single characters upon iron, wherewith of old they stigmatized slaves and remarkable offenders; and it was of good use sometimes to brand a schismatick, but a bulky Dutchman diverted it quite from its first institution, and contriving those innumerable *syntagmes* of alphabets, hath pestered the world ever since with the gross bodies of their German divinity. One would have thought in reason that a Dutchman at least might have contented himself only with the wine-prefs.

But, next of all, our author, beside his aversion from the prefs, alledges, that he is as much concerned as De Witt, or any of the high and mighty Burgomasters, in matters of a closer and more comfortable importance to himself and his own affaires. And yet whoever shall take the pains to read over his preface, will find that it intermeddles with the King, the succession, the privy-council, popery, atheism, bishops, ecclesiastical government, and above all with non-

conformity, and J. O. A man would wonder what this thing should be of a clofer importance, but being more comfortable too, I conclude it muſt be one of theſe three things ; either his falvation, or a benefice, or a female. Now as to falvation he could not be ſo much concerned, for that care was over ; there hath been a courſe taken to inſure all that are on his bottom, and he is yet ſurer of a benefice ; or elſe his patrons muſt be very ungrateful. He cannot have deſerved leſs than a prebend for his firſt book, a ſine-cure for his ſecond, and for this third a rectorſhip, although it were that of Malmſbury. Why, then, of neceſſity it muſt be a female. For that I confeſs might have been a ſufficient excuſe from writing of prefaces, and againſt the importunity of the bookſeller. It was fit that all buſineſs ſhould have given place to the work of propagation. Nor was there any thing that could more cloſely import him, than that the race and family of the railers ſhould be perpetuated among mankind. Who could in reaſon expect that a man ſhould in the ſame moments undertake the labour of an author and a father ? “ Nevertheleſs, he ſaith, “ he could not but yield ſo far as to improve every fragment of time that he could get into his own diſpoſal, to “ gratifie the importunity of the bookſeller.” Was ever civility graduated up and inhanced to ſuch a value ! His miſtris herſelf could not have endeared a favour ſo nicely, nor granted it with more ſweetneſs.

“Was the bookseller more importunate, or the author more courteous?”

“The author was the pink of courtesie, the bookseller “the bur of importunity.”

And so, not being able to shake him off, “this,” he saith, “hath brought forth this preface, such an one as it “is; for how it will prove, he himself neither is, nor (till “it is too late) ever shall be a competent judge, in that it “must be ravished out of his hands before his thoughts “can possibly be cool enough to revive or correct the inde- “cencies either of its stile or contrivance.” He is now growing a very enthusiast himself. No nonconformist minister, as it seems, could have spoke more *extempore*. I see he is not so civil to his readers as he was to his bookseller: and so A. C. and James Collins be gratified, he cares not how much the rest of the world be disoblighd. Some man, that had less right to be fastidious and confident, would, before he exposd himself in publick, both have cooled his thoughts, and corrected his indecencies: or should have considered whether it were necessary or wholesome that he should write at all. Forasmuch as one of the ancient Sophists (they were a kind of orators of his form) killed himself with declaiming while he had a bone in his throat, and J. O. was still in being. “Put up your trumpery, good
VOL. II. C “noble

“ noble marquess.” But there was no holding him. Thus it must be, and no better, when a man’s fancy is up, and his breeches are down ; when the mind and the body make contrary assignations, and he hath both a bookseller at once and a mistress to satisfy ; like Archimedes, into the street he runs out naked with his invention. And truly, if at any time, we might now pardon this extravagance and rapture of our author, when he was perched upon the highest pinnacle of ecclesiastical felicity, being ready at once to assuage his concupiscence, and wreak his malice.

“ But yet he knows not which way his mind will work
 “ itself and its thoughts.” This is Bayes the second.
 “ — it is no matter for the plot—the intrigo was out of
 “ his head—but you will apprehend it better when you
 “ see it.” Or rather, he is like Bayes his actors, “ that
 “ could not guess what humour they were to be in : whe-
 “ ther angry, melancholy, merry, or in love.” Nay inso-
 much that he saith, “ he is neither prophet nor astrologer
 “ enough to foretel.” Never man certainly was so unac-
 quainted with himself. And, indeed, it is part of his
 discretion to avoid his acquaintance and tell him as little of
 his mind as may be : for he is a dangerous fellow. But I
 must ask pardon if I treat him too homely. It is his own
 fault that misled me at first by concealing his quality un-
 der such vulgar comparisons as De Witt and the Burgo-
 masters.

masters. I now see it all along ; this can be no less a man than Prince Volscius himself, in dispute betwixt his boots which way his mind will “ work itself ;” whether love shall detain him with his “ closer importance, Parthenope, whose “ mother, fir, sells ale by the town wall :” or honour shall carry him “ to head the army that lies concealed for him at “ Knightsbridge,” and to encounter J. O.

“ Go on cries honour : tender love faith nay.

“ Honour aloud commands, pluck both boots on.

“ But safer love doth whisper, put on none.”

And so now when it comes that he is “ not prophet nor astrologer enough to foretel” what he will do, it is just,

“ For as bright day, with black approach of night,

“ Contending, makes a doubtful puzzling light ;

“ So does my honour and my love together

“ Puzzle me so, I am resolved on neither.”

Yet no astrologer could possibly have more advantage and opportunity to make a judgement. For he knew the very minute of the conception of his preface, which was immediately upon his Majesties issuing his declaration of indulgence to tender consciences : nor could he be ignorant of the moment when it was brought forth. And I can so far refresh his memory, that it came out in the dog-days.

“ — The season hot, and she too near: O mighty
 “ love! J. O. will be undone; according to the rule in
 “ Davenant’s Ephemerides; but the heads which at this
 “ moment, and under the present schemes and aspects of
 “ the Heavens he intends to treat of (pure Sidrophel) are
 “ these two: first, something of the treatise itself; secondly,
 “ of the seasonableness of its publication! and this, unless
 “ his humour jade him (’tis come to a dog-trot already)
 “ will lead him further into the argument as it relates to
 “ the present state of things, and from thence ’tis odds but
 “ he shall take occasion to bestow some animadversions upon
 “ one J. O.” There is no trusting him: he doubtless
 knew from the beginning what he intended. And so too
 all his story of the bookseller, and all the “ volo nolo’s,”
 and “ shall I, shall I’s” betwixt them, was nothing but
 fooling; and he now all along owns himself to be the pub-
 lisher, and alledges the flighter and the main reasons that
 induced him. Would he had told us so at first, for then
 he had saved me thus much of my labour; though as it
 chances it lights not amiss on our author, whose delicate
 stomach could not brook that J. O. should say, “ he had
 “ prevailed with himself, much against his inclination, to
 “ bestow a few (and those idle) hours upon examining his
 “ book:” and yet he himself stumbles so notoriously upon
 the very same fault at his own threshold.

But

But now from this preamble he falls into his Preface to Bishop Bramhal, though indeed like Bayes his prologue, that would have served as well for an epilogue. I do not see but the Preface might have past as well for a postscript, or the headstall for a crooper. And our author's divinity might have gone to push-pin with the Bishop, which of their two treatises was the procatastical cause of both their editions. For, as they are coupled together, to say the truth, 'tis not discernable; as in some animals, whether their motion begin at the head or tail: whether the author made his preface for Bishop Bramhal's dear sake, or whether he published the Bishop's treatise for sake of his own dear Preface. For my own part I think it reasonable that the Bishop and our Author should (like fair gamsters at leap frog) stand and skip in their turns; and however our author got it for once, yet if the bookseller should ever be solicitous for a second edition, that then the Bishop's book should have the precedence.

But before I commit myself to the dangerous depths of his discourse, which I am now upon the brink of, I would with his leave make a motion, that instead of Author, I may henceforth indifferently call him Mr. Bayes as oft as I shall see occasion; and that first, because he hath no name, or at least will not own it, though he himself writes under the greatest security, and gives us the first letters of other mens

names

names before he be asked them. Secondly, because he is I perceive a lover of elegancy of stile, and can endure no man's tautologies but his own, and therefore I would not distast him with too frequent repetition of one word; but chiefly because Mr. Bayes and he do very much symbolize, in their understandings, in their expressions, in their humour, in their contempt and quarrelling of all others, though of their own profession; because our divine, the author, manages his contest with the same prudence and civility which the players and poets have practised of late in their several divisions; and lastly, because both their talents do peculiarly ly in exposing and personating the nonconformists. I would therefore give our author a name, the memory of which may perpetually excite him to the exercise and highest improvement of that virtue. For, our Cicero doth not yet equal our Roscius, and one turn of Lacy's face hath more ecclesiastical policy in it than all the books of our author put together. Besides, to say Mr. Bayes is more civil than to say villain and caitiff, though these indeed are more taunt. And, to conclude, the irrefragable doctor of school divinity, page 460 of his Defence, determining concerning symbolical ceremonies, hath warranted me that not only governours, but any thing else may have power to appropriate new names to things, without having absolute authority over the things themselves. And therefore henceforward, seeing I am on such sure ground, Author, or Mr. Bayes, whether I please. Now,
having

having had our dance, let us advance to our more serious counsels.

And first, our author begins with a panegyrick upon Bishop Bramhal; a person whom my age had not given me leave to be acquainted with, nor my good fortune led me to converse with his writings: but for whom I had collected a deep reverence from the general reputation he carried, beside the veneration due to the place he filled in the Church of England. So that our author having a mind to shew us some proof of his good nature, and that his eloquence lay not all in satyr and invectives, could not, in my opinion, have fixed upon a fitter subject of commendation. And therefore, I could have wished for my own sake that I had missed this occasion of being more fully informed of some bishop's principles, whereby I have lost part of that pleasure which I had so long enjoyed in thinking well of so considerable a person. But however, I recreate myself with believing that my simple judgment cannot, beyond my intention, abate any thing of his just value with others; and seeing he is long since dead, which I knew but lately, and now learn it with regret, I am the more obliged to repair in myself whatsoever breaches of his credit, by that additional civility which consecrates the ashes of the deceased. But by this means I am come to discern how it was possible for our author to speak a good word for any man. The Bishop
was

was expired, and his writings jump much with our author. So that if you have a mind to dy, or to be of his party, (there are but these two conditions) you may perhaps be rendred capable of his charity. And then write what you will, he will make you a preface that shall recommend you and it to the genius of the age, and reconcile it to the juncture of affairs. But truly he hath acquitted himself herein so ill-favouredly to the Bishop, that I do not think it so much worth to gain his approbation; and I had rather live and enjoy mine own opinion than be so treated: for, beside his reflection on the Bishop, and the whole age he lived in, that “he was, as far as the prejudice of the age
 “would permit him, an acute philosopher” (which is a sufficient taste of Mr. Bayes his arrogance, that no man, no age can be so perfect but must abide his censure, and of the officious virulence of his humour, which infuses itself, by a malignant remark, that (but for this acuter philosopher) no man else would have thought of, into the praises of him whom he most intended to celebrate) if, I say, beside this, you consider the most elaborate and studious periods of his commendation, you find it at best very ridiculous. By the language he seems to transcribe out of the Grand Cyrus and Cassandra, but the exploits to have borrowed out of the Knight of the Sun, and King Arthur. For in a luscious and effeminate stile he gives him such a termagant character, as must either fright or turn the stomach of any reader:

“ Being of a brave and enterprising temper, of an active
 “ and sprightly mind, he was always busied either in con-
 “ triving or performing great designs.” Well, Mr. Bayes,
 I suppose by this, that he might have been an overmatch
 to the bishop of Cullen and the bishop of Strasburg. In
 another place, “ He finished all the glorious designs that he
 “ undertook”; this might have become the bishop of
 Munster before he had raised the siege from Groningen.
 “ As he was able to accomplish the most gallant attempts,
 “ so he was always ready not only to justify their inno-
 “ cence, but to make good their bravery.” I was too pro-
 digal of my bishops at first, and now have never another
 left in the Gazette, which is to our author’s magazine.
 “ His reputation and innocence were both armour of proof
 “ against Tories and Presbyterians.” But methinks, Mr.
 Bayes, having to do with such dangerous enemies, you should
 have furnished him too with some weapon of offence, a
 good old fox, like that of another hero, his contemporary
 in action upon the scene of Ireland, of whom it was sung,

“ Down by his side he wore a sword of price,
 “ Keen as a frost, glazed like a new made ice:
 “ That cracks men shell’d in steel in a less trice,
 “ Than squirrels nuts, or the Highlanders lice.”

Then he saith “ ’Tis true the church of Ireland was the
 “ largest scene of his actions; but yet there in a little time,

“ he wrought out such wondrous alterations, and so exceeding all belief, as may convince us that he had a mind large and active enough to have managed the Roman empire at its greatest extent.” This indeed of our author’s is great; and yet it reacheth not a strain of his fellow Pendets in the history of the Mogol, where he tells Dancehment Kan, “ When you put your foot in the stirrup, and when you march upon horseback in the front of the cavalry, the earth trembles under your feet, the eight elephants that hold it on their heads not being able to support it:” But enough of this trash.

Beside that it is the highest indecorum for a divine to write in such a stile as this (part play-book and part romance) concerning a reverend bishop: these improbable eulogies too are of the greatest disservice to their own design, and do in effect diminish always the person whom they pretend to magnifie. Any worthy man may pass through the world unquestioned and safe with a moderate recommendation; but when he is thus set off, and bedawbed with rhetorick, and embroidered so thick that you cannot discern the ground, it awakens naturally (and not altogether unjustly) interest, curiosity and envy: For all men pretend a share in reputation, and love not to see it ingrossed and monopolized, and are subject to enquire, (as of great estates suddenly got) whether he came by all this honestly, or of what

what credit the person is that tells the story? And the same hath happened as to this Bishop, while our author attributes to him such achievements, which to one that could believe the legend of Captain Jones, might not be incredible. I have heard that there was indeed such a captain, an honest brave fellow: but a wag, that had a mind to be merry with him, hath quite spoiled his history. Had our author epitomized the legend of sixty-fix books *De Virtutibus Sancti Patricii* (I mean not the ingenious writer of the Friendly Debates, but St. Patrick, the Irish bishop) he could not have promised us greater; and'tis well for him that he hath escaped the fate of Secundinus, who (as Josselin relates it) acquainting Patrick that he was inspired to compose something in his commendation, the Bishop foretold the author should dy as soon as it was perfected; which so done, so happened. I am sure our author had dyed no other death but of this his own preface, and a surfeit upon Bishop Bramhall, if the swelling of truth could have choaked him. He tells us, I remember somewhere, that this same Bishop of Derry said, "the Scots had a civil expression for these "improvers of verity, that they are good company;" and I shall say nothing severer, than that our author speaks the language of a lover, and so may claim some pardon, if the habit and excess of his courtship do as yet give a tincture to his discourse upon more ordinary subjects; for I would not by any means be mistaken, as if I thought our author

so sharp set, or so necessitated that he should make a dead bishop his mistress; so far from that, that he hath taken such a course, that if the bishop were alive he would be out of love with himself. He hath, like those frightfull looking glasses made for sport, represented him in such bloated lineaments, as, I am confident, if he could see his face in it, he would break the glass. For, hence it falls out too, that men seeing the Bishop furbished up in so martial accoutrements, like another Odo, bishop of Baieux, and having never before heard of his prowess, began to reflect what giants he defeated, and what damsels he rescued. Serious men consider whether he were engaged in the conduct of the Irish army, and to have brought it over upon England, for the imputation of which the Earl of Strafford his patron so undeservedly suffered; but none knowes any thing of it: others think it not to be taken literally, but the wonderful and unheard-of alterations that he wrought out in Ireland, are meant of some reformation that he made there in things of his own function; but then men ask again, how he comes to have all the honour of it, and whether all the while that great Bishop Usher, his metropolitane, were unconcerned? for even in ecclesiastical combates, how instrumental soever the captain hath been, the general usually carries away the honour of the action. But the good Primate was engaged in designs of lesser moment, and was writing his *De Primordiis Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*,

nicæ, and the story of Pelagius our countryman. He, honest man, was deep gone in Grub-street and polemical divinity, and troubled with fits of modern orthodoxy. He satisfied himself with being “admired by the blue and “white aprons, and pointed at by the more judicious tankard bearers.” Nay, which is worst of all, he undertook to abate of our episcopal grandeur, and condescended indeed to reduce the ceremonious discipline in these nations to the primitive simplicity. What then was this that Bishop Bramhall did! Did he like a Protestant apostle convert in one day thousands of the Irish Papists? The contrary is evident, by the Irish rebellion and massacre, which, notwithstanding his “publick employment and great abilities,” happened in his time. So that after all our author’s bombast, when we have searched all over, we find ourselves bilked in our expectation; and he hath erected him, like a St. Christopher, in the Popish churches, as big as ten porters, and yet only employed to sweat under the burden of an infant.

All that appears of him is, first, that he busied himself about a “catholick agreement among the churches of Christendom.” But as to this, our author himself saith, that he was not “so vain, or so presuming as to hope to see it “affected in his dayes”. And yet but two pages before he told us that the “bishop finished all the glorious designs “which he undertook.” But this design of his he draws out in
such

such a circuit of words, that it is better taking it from the bishop himself, who speaks more plainly always and much more to the purpose. And he saith, pag. 87. of his vindication, “ my design is rather to reconcile the Popish “ party to the church of England, than the church of “ England to the Pope.” And how he manages it, I had rather any man would learn by reading over his own book, than that I should be thought to misrepresent him, which I might, unless I transcribed the whole. But in summe it seems to me that he is upon his own single judgment too liberal of the publick, and that he retrenches both on our part more than he hath authority for, and grants more to the Popish than they can of right pretend to. It is however indeed a most glorious design, to reconcile all the churches to one doctrine and communion (though some that meddle in it do it chiefly in order to fetter men straiter under the formal bondage of fictitious discipline;) but it is a thing rather to be wished and prayed for, than to be expected from these kind of endeavours. It is so large a field, that no man can see to the end of it: and all that have adventured to travel it, have been bewildered. That man must have a vast opinion of his own sufficiency, that can think he may by his oratory or reason, either in his own time, or at any of our author’s “ more happy juncture of affairs,” so far perswade and fascinate the Roman church, having by a regular contexture of continued policy for so many ages

interwoven itself with the secular interest, and made itself necessary to most princes, and having at last erected a throne of infallibility over their consciences, as to prevail with her to submit a power and empire so acquired and established in compromise to the arbitration of an humble proposer. God only in his own time, and by the inscrutable methods of his providence, is able to effect that alteration: though I think too he hath signified in part by what means he intends to accomplish it, and to range so considerable a church, and once so exemplary, into primitive unity and Christian order. In the mean time such projects are fit for pregnant scholars that have nothing else to do, to go big with for forty years, and may qualify them to discourse with princes and statesmen at their leisure; but I never saw that they came to use or possibility, no more than that of Alexander's architect, who proposed to make him a statue of the mountain Athos (and that was no molehill) and among other things, that statue to carry in its hand a great habitable city. But the surveyor was gravelled, being asked whence that city should be supplied with water. I would only have asked the bishop, when he had carved and hammered the Romists and Protestants into one Colossian church, how we should have done as to matter of Bibles. For the bishop, p. 117. complains that unqualified people should have a promiscuous licence to read the Scriptures: and you may guess thence, if he had
moreover

moreover the Pope to friend, how the laity should have been used. There have been attempts in former ages to dig through the separating Isthmus of Peloponnesus; and another to make communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean: both more easie than to cut this ecclesiastick canal, and yet both laid by partly upon the difficulty of doing it, and partly upon the inconveniences if it had been effected. I must confess freely, yet I ask pardon for the presumption, that I cannot look upon these undertaking church men, however otherwise of excellent prudence and learning, but as men struck with a *notio*, and crazed on that side of their head. And so I think even the bishop had much better have busied himself in preaching in his own diocess, and disarming the Papists of their arguments, instead of rebating our weapons; than in taking an oecumenical care upon him, which none called him to, and, as appears by the sequel, none connd him thanks for. But if he were so great a politician as I have heard, and indeed believe him to have been, methinks he should in the first place have contrived how we might live well with our Protestant neighbours, and to have united us in one body under the King of England, as head of the Protestant intercess, which might have rendered us more considerable, and put us into a more likely posture to have reduced the church of Rome to reason. For the most leading party of the English clergy in his time retained such a pontifical stiffness towards the
foreign

foreign divines, that it puts me in mind of Austin the monk, when he came into Kent, not deigning to rise up to the British or give them the hand, and could scarce afford their churches either communion or charity, or common civility. So that it is not to be wondered if they also on their parts looked upon our models of accommodation with the same jealousy that the British Christians had at Austin's design, to unite them first to (that is under) the Saxons, and then deliver them both over bound to the Papal government and ceremonies; but seeing hereby our hands were weakened, and there was no probability of arriving so near the end of the work as to a consent among Protestants abroad; had the Bishop but gone that step, to have reconciled the ecclesiastical differences in our own nations, and that we might have stood firm at home before we had taken such a jump beyond sea, it would have been a performance worthy of his wisdom: for at that time the ecclesiastical rigours here were in the highest ferment, and the church in being arrayed itself against the peaceable Dissenters only in some points of worship. And what great undertaking could we be ripe for abroad, while so divided at home? or what fruit expected from the labour of those mediating divines in weighty matters, who were not yet past sucking-bottle; but seemed to place all the business of Christianity in persecuting men for their consciences, differing from them in smaller matters? How ridiculous must we be to

the church of Rome to interpose in her affairs, and force our mediation upon her ; when besides our ill correspondence with foreign Protestants, she must observe our weakness within ourselves, that we could not, or would not step over a straw, though for the perpetual settlement and security of our church and nation ? She might well look upon us as those that probably might be forced at some time by our folly to call her in to our assistance (for with no weapons or arguments but what are fetched out of her arsenals, can the ceremonial controverſie be rightly defended) but never could she consider us as of ſuch authority or wiſdom, as to give balance to her counſels. But this was far from Biſhop Bramhall's thoughts ; who, ſo he might (like Cæſar) “ manage the Roman empire at its utmoſt extent,” had quite forgot what would conduce to the peace of his own province and country ; for page 57 he ſettles this maxim as a truth, “ That ſecond reſormations are commonly like “ metal upon metal, which is falſe heraldry.” Where, by the way, it is a wonder that our author, in enumerating the Biſhop's perfections in divinity, law, hiſtory, and philoſophy, neglected this peculiar gift he had in heraldry ; and omitted to tell us that his mind was large enough to have animated the kingdoms of Garter and Clarencieux at their greateſt dimensions. But, beſide what I have ſaid already in relation to this project upon Rome, there is this more, which I confeſs was below Biſhop Bramhall's reflection, and
was

was indeed fit only for some vulgar politician, or the commissioners of Scotland about the late Union: whether it would not have succeeded as in the consolidation of kingdoms, where the greatest swallows down the less; so also in church coalition, that though the Pope had condescended (which the Bishop owns to be his right) to be only a patriarch, yet he would have swooped up the patriarchate of Lambeth to his morning's-draught, like an egg in Muscadine. And then there is another danger always when things come once to a treaty, that beside the debates of reason, there is a better way of tampering to bring men over that have a power to conclude. And so who knows in such a treaty with Rome, if the Alps (as it is probable) would not have come over to England, as the Bishop designed it, England might not have been obliged, lying so commodious for navigation, to undertake a voyage to Civita Vecchia? But what though we should have made all the advances imaginable, it would have been to no purpose; and nothing less than an entire and total resignation of the Protestant cause would have contented her. For the Church of Rome is so well satisfied of her own sufficiency, and hath so much more wit than we had in Bishop Bramhall's days, or seem to have yet learned; that it would have succeeded just as at the Council of Trent. For there, though many divines of the greatest sincerity and learning endeavoured a reformation, yet no more could be obtained of her than the nonconformists got of those of the Church

of England at the conference of Worcester-house. But on the contrary, all her excesses and errors were further riveted and confirmed, and that great machine of her ecclesiastical policy there perfected.

So that this enterprize of Bishop Bramhall's being so ill laid and so unseasonable, deserves rather an excuse than a commendation. And all that can be gathered besides out of our author concerning him is of little better value; for he saith indeed, that "he was a zealous and resolute assertor of the publick rites and solemnities of the church." But those things being only matters of external neatness, could never merit the trophies that our author erects him. For neither can a justice of peace for his severity about dirt baskets deserve a statue. And as for "his expunging some dear and darling articles from the Protestant cause," it is, as far as I can perceive, only his substituting some Arminian tenets (which I name so, not for reproach, but for difference) instead of the Calvinian doctrines. But this too could not challenge all these triumphal ornaments in which he installs him: for, I suppose these were but meer "mistakes on either side, for want of being (as the Bishop saith page 134) scholastically stated; and that he, with a distinction of school-theologie, could have smoothed over and plained away these knots though they have been much harder."

For

For the rest, which he leaves to seek for, and I meet casually with in the Bishop's own book; I find him to have been doubtless a very good natured gentleman. Page 160, "He hath much respect for poor readers"; and page 161, he judges "that if they come short of preachers in point of efficacy, yet they have the advantage of preachers as to point of security." And page 163, he commends the care taken by "the canons that the meanest cure of souls should have formal sermons at least four times every year." Page 155, he "maintains the publick sports on the Lord's day by the proclamation to that purpose, and the example of the reformed churches beyond sea:" and "for the publick dances of our youth upon country greens on Sundays, after the duties of the day, he sees nothing in them but innocent, and agreeable to that under-foot of people." And page 117, (which I quoted before) he "takes the promiscuous licence to unqualified persons to read the scriptures, far more prejudicial, nay, more pernicious, than the over-rigorous restraint of the Romaniſts." And indeed, all along he complies much for peace sake, and judiciously shews wherein our separation from the church of Rome is not warrantable. But although I cannot warrant any man who hence took occasion to traduce him of Popery, the contrary of which is evident, yet neither is it to be wondered, if he did hereby lie under some imputation, which he might otherwise have avoided. Neither

can

can I be so hard-hearted as our author in the nonconformists case of discipline, to think it were better that " he, or " a hundred more divines of his temper should suffer, though " innocent, in their reputation, than that we should come " under a possibility of losing our religion." For as they (the Bishop and I hope most of his party) did not intend it so, neither could they have effected it. But he could not expect to enjoy his imagination without the annoyances incident to such as dwell in the middle story: the pots from above and the smoke from below. And those churches which are seated nearer upon the frontier of popery, did naturally and well if they took alarm at the march. For, in fact, that incomparable person Grotius did yet make a bridge for the enemy to come over; or at least laid some of our most considerable passes open to them and unregarded: a crime something like what his son De Groot (here's Gazette again for you) and his son-in-law Mombas have been charged with. And, as to the Bishop himself, his friend an accusatory spirit would desire no better play than he gives in his own vindication; but that's neither my business nor humour; and whatsoever may have glanced upon him, was directed only to our author, for publishing that book, which the Bishop himself had thought fit to conceal, and for his impertinent efflorescence of rhetorick upon so mean topicks, in so choice and copious a subject as Bishop Bramhall.

Yet

Yet though the Bishop prudently undertook a design, which he hoped not to accomplish in his own dayes, our author, however, was something wiser, and hath made sure to obtain his end. For the Bishop's honour was the farthest thing from his thoughts; and he hath managed that part so that I have accounted it a work of some piety to vindicate his memory from so scurvy a commendation. But the author's end was only railing; he could never have induced himself to praise one man but in order to rail on another. He never oils his hone but that he may whet his razor; and that not to shave, but to cut mens throats. And whoever will take the pains to compare, will find, that as it is his only end, so his best, nay his only talent is railing. So that he hath, while he pretends so much for the good Bishop, used him but for a stalking-horse till he might come within shot of the foreign divines and the nonconformists. The other was only a copy of his countenance: but look to yourselves, my masters; for in so venomous a malice, courtesie is always fatal. Under colour of some mens having taxed the Bishop, he flies out into a furious debauch, and breaks the windows, if he could, would raze the foundations of all the Protestant churches beyond sea: but for all men at home of their perswasion, if he meet them in the dark he runs them thorow. He usurps to himself the authority of the church of England, who is so well-bred, that if he would have allowed her to speak, she would doubtless have

treated more civilly those over whom she pretends no jurisdiction : and under the names of Germany and Geneva, he rallies and rails at the whole Protestantcy of Europe. For you are mistaken in our author (but I have worn him thread-bare) if you think he designs to enter the lists where he hath but one man to combat. Mr. Bayes, ye know, “ prefers that one quality of fighting single with whole “ armies, before all the moral virtues put together.” And yet I assure you, he hath several times obliged *moral virtue* so highly, that she owes him a good turn whensoever she can meet him. But it is a brave thing to be the ecclesiastical Drawcanfir ; he kills whole nations, he kills friend and foe ; Hungary, Transylvania, Bohemia, Poland, Savoy, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and a great part of the church of England, and all Scotland (for these, beside many more, he mocks under the title of Germany and Geneva) may perhaps rouse our mastiff, and make up a danger worthy of his courage. A man would guess that this giant had promised his comfortable importance, a fimarre of the beards of all the orthodox theologues in Christendom. But I wonder how he comes to be prolocutor of the church of England ! For he talks at that rate, as if he were a *synodical individuum* ; nay, if he had a fifth council in his belly he could not dictate more dogmatically. There had been indeed, as I have heard, about the dayes of Bishop Bramhall, a sort of divines here of that leaven, who
being

being dead, I cover their names, if not for health's sake, yet for decency, who never could speak of the first reformers with any patience; who pruned themselves in the peculiar virulency of their pens, and so they might say a tart thing concerning the foreign churches, cared not what obloquy they cast upon the history, or the profession of religion. And those men undertook likewise to vent their wit and their choler under the stile of the church of England; and were indeed so far owned by her, that what preferments were in her own disposal, she rather conferred upon them. And now when they were gone off the stage, there is risen up this spiritual Mr. Bayes; who having assumed to himself an incongruous plurality of ecclesiastical offices, one of the most severe, of penitentiary universal to the reformed churches; the other most ridiculous, of buffoon-general to the church of England, may be henceforth capable of any other promotion. And not being content to enjoy his own folly, he has taken two others into partnership; as fit for his design, as those two that clubbed with Mahomet in making the Alcoran: who by perverse wit and representation might travestee the scripture, and render all the careful and serious part of religion odious and contemptible. But, lest I might be mistaken as to the persons I mention, I will assure the reader that I intend not Hudibras: for he is a man of the other robe, and his excellent wit hath taken a flight far above these whiflers: that

whoever dislikes the choice of his subject, cannot but commend his performance, and calculate if on so barren a theme he were so copious, what admirable sport he would have made with an ecclesiastical politician. But for a *Daw-Divine*, not onely to foul his own nest in England, but to pull in pieces the nests of those beyond sea, it is that which I think undecent and of very ill example. There is not indeed much danger, his book, his letter, and his preface being writ in English, that they should pass abroad: but, if they be printed upon incombustible paper, or by reason of the many avocations of our church they may escape a censure, yet it is likely they may dye at home, the common fate of such treatises amongst the more judicious oyl-men and grocers. Unless Mr. Bayes be so far in love with his own whelp, that, as a modern lady, he will be at the charge of translating his works into Latin, transmitting them to the universities, and dedicating them in the Vaticane. But, should they unhappily get vent abroad (as I hear some are already sent over for curiosity) what scandal, what heart-burning and animosity must it raise against our church: unless they chance to take it right at first, and

* limit the provocation within the author. And then, what can he expect in return of his civility, but that the compliment which passed betwixt Arminius and Baudius should concenter upon him, that he is both *opprobrium academice*, and *pestis ecclesie*. For they will see at the first that his

books

books come not out under publick authority, or recommendation: but only as things of buffoonery do commonly, they carry with them their own *imprimatur*; but I hope he hath considered Mr. L. in private, and payed his fees. Neither will the gravity therefore of their judgements take the measures I hope, either of the education at our universities, or of the spirit of our divines, or of the prudence, piety, and doctrine of the church of England, from such an interloper. Those gardens of ours use to bear much better fruit. There may happen sometimes an ill year, or there may be such a crab-stock as cannot by all ingrafting be corrected. But generally it proves otherwise. Once perhaps in a hundred years there may arise such a prodigy in the university (where all men else learn better arts and better manners) and from thence may creep into the church (where the teachers at least ought to be well instructed in the knowledge and practice of Christianity) so prodigious a person I say may even there be hatched, shall neither know or care how to behave himself to God or man; and who having never seen the receptacle of grace or conscience at an anatomical dissection, may conclude therefore that there is no such matter, or no such obligation among Christians; who shall persecute the Scripture itself, unless it will conform to his interpretation; who shall strive to put the world into blood, and animate princes to be the executioners of their own subjects for well-doing. All this is possible; but

comes to pass as rarely and at as long periods in our climate, as the birth of a false prophet. But unluckily, in this fatal year of seventy two, among all the calamities that astrologers foretel, this also hath befallen us. I would not hereby confirm his vanity, as if I also believed that any scheme of heaven did influence his actions, or that he were so considerable as that the comet under which they say we yet labour, had fore-boded the appearance of his preface. No, no: though he be a creature most noxious, yet he is more despicable. A comet is of far higher quality, and hath other kind of employment. Although we call it an hairy-star, it affords no prognostick of what breeds there: but the astrologer that would discern our author and his business, must lay by his telescope, and use a microscope. You may find him still in Mr. Calvin's head. Poor Mr. Calvin and Bishop Bramhall, what crime did you dye guilty of, that you cannot lye quiet in your graves, but must be conjured up on the stage as oft as Mr. Bayes will ferret you? And which of you two are most unfortunate I cannot determine; whether the Bishop in being alwayes courted, or the Presbyter in being alwayes railed at. But in good earnest I think Mr. Calvin hath the better of it; for, though an ill man cannot by praising confer honour, nor by reproaching fix an ignominy, and so they may seem on equal terms; yet there is more in it: for at the same time that we may imagine what is said by such an author to be false, we conceive

ceive the contrary to be true. What he saith of him indeed in this place did not come very well in; for Calvin writ nothing against Bishop Bramhall, and therefore here it amounts to no more than his spirit forsooth had propagated an original waspishness and false orthodoxy amongst all his followers. But if you look in other pages of his book, and particularly page 663 of his Defence, you never saw such a scare-crow as he makes him: "There sprang up a mighty
 "bramble on the south side the Lake Lemane, that (such
 "is the rankness of the soil) spread and flourished with such
 "a sudden growth, that partly by the industry of his agents
 "abroad, and partly by its own indefatigable pains and
 "pragmaticalness, it quite over-ran the whole Reformation." You must conceive that Mr. Bayes was all this while in an extasy in Dodona's Grove; or else here is strange work; worse than "explicating a post," or "examining a pillar." A "bramble" that had "agents abroad," and itself an "indefatigable bramble." But straight our bramble is transformed to a man, and he "makes a chair of infallibility
 "for himself" out of his own bramble timber: yet all this while we know not his name; one would suspect it might be a Bishop Bramble. But then "he made himself both
 "pope and emperor too of the greatest part of the reformed
 "world." How near does this come to his commendation of Bishop Bramhall before? for our author seems copious, but is indeed very poor of expression: and, as smiling and
 frowning

frowning are performed in the face with the same muscles very little altered ; so the changing of a line or two in Mr. Bayes at any time, will make the same thing serve for a panegyrick or a philippick. But what do you think of this man? could Mistress Mopsa herself have furnished you with a more pleasant and worshipful tale? it wants nothing of perfection, but that it doth not begin with, “ Once upon a time : ” which Master Bayes, according to his accuracy, if he had thought on’t, would never have omitted. Yet some critical people, who will exact truth in falsehood, and tax up an old wife’s fable to the punctuality of history, were blaming him the other day for placing this bramble on the south side of the Lake Lemane. I said, it was well and wisely done that he chose a south sun for the better and more sudden growth of such a fruit tree. Ay, said they, but he means Calvin by the bramble ; and the “ rank foyl on the south side the Lake Lemane ” is the city of Geneva, situate (as he would have it) on the south side of that Lake. Now it is strange that he, having travelled so well, should not have observed that the Lake lies east and west, and that Geneva is built at the west end of it. Pish, said I, that’s no such great matter, and, as Master Bayes hath it upon another occasion, “ Whether it be so or no, the fortunes of Cæsar and the “ Roman empire are not concerned in it.” One of the company would not let that pass, but told us if we looked in Cæsar’s Commentaries, we should find their fortunes were

con-

concerned, for it was the Helvetian passage, and many mistakes might have risen in the marching of the army. Why then, replied I again, whether it be east, west, north, or south, there is neither vice nor idolatry in it, and the ecclesiastical politician may command you to believe it, and you are bound to acquiesce in his judgment, whatsoever may be your private opinion. Another, to continue the mirth, answered, that yet there might be some religious consideration in building a town east and west, or north and south, and it was not a thing so indifferent as men thought it: but because in the Church of England, where the table is set altar wise, the minister is nevertheless obliged to stand at the north side (though it be the north end of the table) it was fit to place the Geneva presbyter in diametrical opposition to him upon the “South side of the Lake.” But this we all took for a cold conceit, and not enough matured: I, that was still upon the doubtful and excusing part, said, that to give the right situation of a town, it was necessary first to know in what position the gentleman’s head then was when he made his observation, and that might cause a great diversity, as much as this came to; yes, replied my next neighbour; or, perhaps some roguing boy that managed the puppets, turned the city wrong, and so disoccidented our geographer. It was grown almost as good as a play among us: and at last they all concluded that Geneva had sold Mr. Bayes a bargain, as the Moon served the Earth in the Rehearsal, and in good.

good footh had “turn’d her breech on him.” But this, I doubt not, Mr. Bayes will bring himself off with honour; but that which sticks with me is, that our author having undertaken to make Calvin and Geneva ridicule, hath not pursued it to so high a point as the subject would have afforded. First, he might have taken the name of the beast Calvinus, and of that have given the anagram, Lucianus; next, I would have turned him inside outward, and have made him Ufinulca. That was a good hobgoblin name to have frightened children with. Then he should have been a “bramble” still, ay, an “indefatigable bramble” too: but after that he should have continued (for in such a book a passage in a play is clear gain, and a great loss if omitted) and upon that bramble “reasons grew as plentiful as black-berries,” but both unwholesome, and they stained all the “white aprons so” that there was no getting of it out. And then, to make a fuller description of the place, he should have added, that near to the city of roaring lions there was a lake, and that lake was all of brimstone, but stored with over-grown trouts, which trouts spawned Presbyterians, and those spawned the Millecantons of all other fanaticks; that this shoal of Presbyterians landed at Geneva, and devoured all the bishops of Geneva’s capons, which are of the greatest size of any in the reformed world. And ever since their mouths have been so in relish that the Presbyterians are in all parts the very canibals of capons: insomuch,

that

that if princes do not take care, the race of capons is in danger to be totally extinguished. But that the river Rhosne was so sober and intelligent, that its waters would not mix with this Lake perillous, but ran sheere thorow, without ever touching it: Nay, such is its apprehension lest the Lake should overtake it, that the River dives itself underground, till the Lake hath lost the scent: and yet when it rises again, imagining that the Lake is still at its heels, it runs on so impetuously that it chuseth rather to pass through the roaring lions, and never thinks itself safe till it hath taken sanctuary at the Pope's town of Avignon. He might too have proved that Calvin made himself "Pope and "Emperour," because the city of Geneva stamps upon its coin the two headed imperial eagle. And, to have given us the utmost terror, he might have considered the alliance and vicinity of Geneva to the Canton of Bern, the arms of which city is the Bear, (and an argument in heraldry, even Bishop Bramhall himself being judge, might have also held in divinity) and therefore they keep under the town house constantly a whole den of bears: so that there was never a more dangerous situation, nor any thing so carefully to be avoided by all travellers in their wits, as Geneva: the Lions on one side, and the Bears on the other. This story would have been nuts to Mother Midnight, and was fit to have been imbellished with Mr. Bayes his allegorical eloquence. And all that he saith either by fits and girds of Calvin, or

in his juſteſt narratives, hath leſs foundation in nature ; and is indeed twice incredible, firſt in the matter related, and then becauſe Mr. Bayes it comes from ; or, to expreſs it ſhorter, becauſe of the tale and the tales-man. He is not yet come to that authority, but that his dogmatical *ipſe dixit*s may rather be a reaſon why we ſhould not believe him. If Maſter Bayes will ſpeak of controverſy, let him enter into a regular diſputation concerning theſe Calvinian tenets, and not write an hiſtory ; or, if he will give us the hiſtory of Calvin, let him at the ſame time produce his authors. And whether hiſtory or controverſy, let him be pleaſed ſo long to abate of the exuberancy of his fancy and wit, to diſpenſe with his ornaments and ſuperfluencies of invention and ſatyre, and then a man may conſider whether he may believe his ſtory, and ſubmit to his argument. But in the mean time (for all he pleads in page 97 of his Defence) it looks all ſo like ſubterfuge and inveigling ; it is ſo nauſeating and tedious a taſk, that no man thinks he owes the author ſo much ſervice as to find out the reaſon of his own categoricalneſs for him. One may beat the buſh a whole day ; but after ſo much labour ſhall, for all game, only ſpring a butterfly, or ſtart an hedge-hog ; inſomuch that I am ever and anon diſputing with myſelf whether Mr. Bayes be indeed ſo ill natured a perſon as ſome would have him, and do not rather innocently write theſe things (as he profeſſes page 4 of his Preface) ſo exceeding all belief that he may

make

make himself and the company merry. I sometimes could think that he intends no harm either to publick or private, but only rails contentedly to himself and his muses; that he seeks only his own diversion, and chargeth his gun with wind but to shoot at the air; or that, like boyes, so he may make a great paper kite of his own Letter of 850 pages, and his Preface of an hundred, he hath no further design upon the poultry of the village. But he takes care that I shall never be long deceived with that pleasing imagination: and though his hyperboles and impossibilities can have only a ridiculous effect, he will be sure to manifest that he had a felonious intention. He would take it ill if we should not value him as an enemy of mankind: and like a raging Indian (for in Europe it was never before practised) he runs a mucke (as they call it there) stabbing every man he meets, till himself be knockt on the head. This here is the least pernicious of all his mischiefs: though it be no less in this and all his other books, than to make the German Protestantcy a reproachful proverb, and to turn Geneva and Calvin into a common place of railing. I had alwayes heard that Calvin was a good scholar, and an honest divine. I have indeed read that he spoke something contemptuously of our liturgy: *Sunt in illo libro quædam tolerabiles ineptiæ*. But that was a sin which we may charitably suppose he repented of on his death bed. And if Mr. Bayes had some just quarrel to him on that or other account, yet for divi-

nities sake he needed not thus have made a constant pissing-place of his grave. And as for Geneva I never perceived before but that it was a very laudable city, that there grew an excellent grape on the south side of the Lake Lemane, that a man might make good cheer there, and there was a pallmall, and one might shoot with the arbalet, or play at courtboulé on Sundays. What was here to incrage our author so that he must raze the fort of St. Katherine, and attempt with the same success a second escalade? but the difficulty of the enterprize doubtless provoked his courage, and the honour he might win made the justice of his quarrel. He knew that not only the common-wealth of Switzerland, but the King of France, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy would enter the lists for the common preservation of the place; and therefore though it be otherwise but a petty town, he disdained not, where the race was to be run by monarchs, to exercise his footmanship. But is it not a great pity to see a man in the flower of his age, and the vigour of his studies, to fall into such a distraction, that his head runs upon nothing but Roman Empire and Ecclesiastical Policy? This happens by his growing too early acquainted with Don Quixote, and reading the Bible too late, so that the first impressions being most strong, and mixing with the last as more novel, have made such a medly in his brain-pan that he is become a mad priest, which of all the sorts is the most incurable. Hence it is that you shall hear him anon in-

structing

structing princes, like Sancho, how to govern his island: as he is busied at present in vanquishing the Calvinists of Germany and Geneva. Had he no friends to have given him good counsel before his understanding were quite unsettled? or if there was none near, why did not men call in the neighbours and send for the parson of the parish to persuade with him in time, but let it run on thus till he is fit for nothing but Bedlam or Hogsdon? However though it be a particular damage, it may tend to a general advantage, and young students will I hope by his example learn to beware henceforward of overweening presumption and preposterous ambition. For this gentleman, as I have heard, after he had read Don Quixote and the Bible, besides such school books as were necessary for his age, was sent early to the University; and there studied hard, and in a short time became a competent rhetorician, and no ill disputant. He had learnt how to erect a thesis, and to defend it *pro* or *con* with a serviceable distinction; while the truth (as his comrade Mr. Bayes hath it on another occasion)

“ Before a full pot of ale you can swallow,

“ Was here with a whoop and gone with a hallow.”

And so thinking himself now ripe and qualified for the greatest undertakings, and highest fortune, he therefore exchanged the narrowness of the university for the town; but coming out of the confinement of the square-cap and the qua-

quadrangle into the open air, the world began to turn round with him: which he imagined, though it were his own giddiness, to be nothing less than the Quadrature of the Circle. This accident concurring so happily to increase the good opinion which he naturally had of himself, he thenceforward applied to gain a like reputation with others. He followed the town life, haunted the best companies, and to polish himself from any pedantick roughness, he read and saw the plays, with much care and more proficiency than most of the auditory; but all this while he forgot not the main chance, but hearing of a vacancy with a nobleman, he clapped in, and easily obtained to be his chaplain. From that day you may take the date of his preferments and his ruine. For having soon wrought himself dexteriously into his patron's favour, by short graces and sermons, and a mimical way of drolling upon the Puritans, which he knew would take both at chappel and table; he gained a great authority likewise among all the domesticks: they all listened to him as an oracle; and they allowed him by common consent, to have not only all the divinity, but more wit too than all the rest of the family put together. This thing alone elevated him exceedingly in his own conceit, and raised his hypochondria into the region of the brain, that his head swelled like any bladder with wind and vapour. But after he was stretched to such a height in his own fancy, that he could not look down from top to toe but
his

his eyes dazzled at the precipice of his stature; there fell out, or in, another natural chance which pushed him headlong; for being of an amorous complexion, and finding himself (as I told you) the cock-divine and the cock-wit of the family, he took the privilege to walk among the hens: and thought it was not impolitick to establish his new acquired reputation upon the gentlewomen's side. And they that perceived he was a rising man, and of pleasant conversation, dividing his day among them into canonical hours, of reading now the Common Prayer, and now the romances, were very much taken with him. The sympathy of silk began to stir and attract the tippet to the petticoat and the petticoat toward the tippet. The innocent ladies found a strange unquietness in their minds, and could not distinguish whether it were love or devotion. Neither was he wanting on his part to carry on the work; but shifted himself every day with a clean surplice, and, as oft as he had occasion to bow, he directed his reverence towards the gentlewomen's pew; till having before had enough of the libertine, and undertaken his calling only for preferment, he was transported now with the sanctity of his office, even to extasy: and like the Bishop over Maudlin College altar, or like *Maudlin de la Croix*, he was seen in his prayers to be lifted up sometimes in the air, and once particularly so high that he cracked his scull against the chappel ceiling. I do not hear for all this that he had
ever

ever practised upon the honour of the ladies, but that he preserved always the civility of a platonick knight-errant. For all this courtship had no other operation than to make him still more in love with himself; and if he frequented their company, it was only to speculate his own baby in their eyes. But being thus, without competitor or rival, the darling of both sexes in the family and his own minion; he grew beyond all measure elated, and that crack of his scull, as in broken looking glasses, multiplied him in self-conceit and imagination.

Having fixed his center in this nobleman's house, he thought he could now move and govern the whole earth with the same facility. Nothing now would serve him but he must be a madman in print, and write a book of Ecclesiastical Policy. There he distributes all the territories of Conscience into the Prince's province, and makes the Hierarchy to be but Bishops of the air: and talks at such an extravagant rate in things of higher concernment, that the reader will avow that in the whole discourse he had not one lucid interval. This book he was so bent upon, that he sat up late at nights, and wanting sleep, and drinking sometimes wine to animate his fancy, it increased his distemper. Beside that too he had the misfortune to have two friends, who being both also out of their wits, and of the same though something a calmer phrensy, spurred him on perpetually

petually with commendation. But when his book was once come out, and he saw himself an author; that some of the gallants of the town layd by the new tune, and the “tay, tay, tarry,” to quote some of his impertinencies; that his title page was posted and pasted up at every avenue next under the play for that afternoon at the king’s or the duke’s house: the vain-glory of this totally confounded him. He lost all the little remains of his understanding, and his *cerebellum* was so dryed up that there was more brains in a walnut, and both their shells were alike thin and brittle. The King of France that lost his wits, had not near so many unlucky circumstances to occasion it: and in the last of all there is some similitude. For, as a negligent page that rode behind and carried the King’s lance, let it fall on his head, the King being in armour, and the day hot, which so disordered him that he never recovered it: so this gentleman, in the dog days, stragling by Temple-bar, in a massy cassock and surcingle, and taking the opportunity at once to piss and admire the title-page of his book; a tall servant of his, one J. O. that was not so carefull as he should be, or whether he did it of purpose, lets another book of four hundred leaves fall upon his head; which meeting with the former fracture in his *cranium*, and all the concurrent accidents already mentioned, has utterly undone him. And so in conclusion his madness hath formed itself into a perfect lycanthropy. He doth so severely believe himself to be a wolf, that

his speech is all turned into howling, yelling, and barking; and if there were any sheep here, you should see him pull out their throats and suck the blood. Alas, that a sweet gentleman, and so hopeful, should miscarry! For want of cattle here, you find him raving now against all the Calvinists of England, and worrying the whole flock of them. For how can they hope to escape his chops and his paws better than those of Germany and Geneva; of which he is so hungry, that he hath scratched up even their dead bodies out of their graves to prey upon? And yet this is nothing if you saw him in the height of his fits: but he hath so beaten and spent himself before, that he is out of breath at present; and though you may discover the same fury, yet it wants of the same vigour. But however you see enough of him, my masters, to make you beware, I hope, of valuing too high, and trusting too far to your own abilities.

It were a wild thing for me to squire it after this knight, and accompany him here through all his extravagancies against our Calvinists. You find nothing but orthodoxy, systems, and syntagms, polemical theology, subtilties and distinctions: Demosthenes; tankard-bearers; pragmatical; controversial: general terms without foundation or reason assigned. That they seem like words of cabal, and have no significance till they be deciphered; or, you would think
he

he were playing at substantives and adjectives. And all that rationally can be gathered from what he saith, is, that the man is mad. But if you would supply his meaning with your imagination, as if he spoke sense and to some determinate purpose; it is very strange that, conceiving himself to be the champion of the church of England, he should bid such a general defiance to the Calvinists. For, he knows, or perhaps I may better say he did know before this phrensy had subverted both his understanding and memory, that most of our ancient, and many of the later bishops nearer our times, did both hold and maintain those doctrines which he traduces under that by-word. And the contrary opinions were even in Bishop Prideaux's time accounted so novel, that, being then publick professor of divinity, he thought fit to tax Dr. Heylin at the Commencement for his new fangled divinity: *cujus*, saith he, in the very words of promotion, *te doctorem creo*. He knew likewise that of our present bishops, though one had leisure formerly to write a Rationale of the Ceremonies and Liturgie, and another a Treatise of the Holiness of Lent; yet that most of them, and 'tis to be supposed all, have studied other controversies, and at another rate than Mr. Bayes his lead can fathom; and as I know none of them that hath published any treatise against the Calvinian tenets, so I have the honour to be acquainted with some of them who are intirely of that judgment, and differ nothing but, as of

good reason, in the point of episcopacy; and as for that, Bishop Bramhall, page 61, hath proved that Calvin himself was of the episcopal persuasion. So that I see no reason why Mr. Bayes should here and every where be such an enemy to controversial skill, or the Calvinists. But I perceive 'tis for Bishop Bramhall's sake here that all the tribe must suffer. This Bayes is not a good dog: for he runs at a whole flock of sheep, when Mr. B. was the deer whom he had in view from the beginning. However having foiled himself so long with every thing he meets, after him now he goes, and will never leave till he hath run him down. Poor Mr. B. I find that when he was a boy, he plucked Bishop Bramhall's flocks, and eat his bullice; and now, when he is as superannuated as the Bishop's book, he must be whipped for it, there is no remedy. And yet I have heard, and Mr. Bayes himself seems to intimate as much, that however he might in his younger years have mistaken, yet that even as early as Bishop Bramhall's discourse, he began to retract: and that as for all his sins against the Church of England, he hath in some late treatises cried *peccavi* with a witness. But, Mr. Bayes, doth not this now look like forcery and extortion, which of all crimes you purge yourself from so often without an accuser? For first, whereas the old Bishop was at rest, and had under his last pillow laid by all cares and contests of this lower world; you by your necromancy have disturbed him, and raised his

ghost to persecute and haunt Mr. B. whom doubtless at his death he had pardoned. But if you called him up to ask some questions too concerning your ecclesiastical policy, as I am apt to suppose, I doubt you had no better answer than in the song :

“ Art thou forlorn of God, and com’st to me ?

“ What can I tell thee then but miserie ?

And then as for extortion ; who but such an Hebrew Jew as you, would, after an honest man had made so full and voluntary restitution, not yet have been satisfied without so many pounds of his flesh over into the bargain ? Though J. O. be in a desperate condition, yet methinks Mr. B. not being past grace, should not neither have been past mercy. Are there no terms of pardon, Mr. Bayes ? is there no time for expiation ; but, after so ample a confession as he hath made, must he now be hanged too to make good the proverb ? It puts me in mind of a story in the time of the Guelphs and Ghibilines, whom I perceive Mr. Bayes hath heard of : there were two factions in Italy, of which the Guelphs were for the Pope, and the Ghibilines for the emperour ; and these were for many years carried on and fomented with much animosity, to the great disturbance of Christendome. Which of these two were the nonconformists in those days I can no more determine than which of our parties here at home is now schismatical. But so nonconformable they were

were to one another, that the historian said they took care to differ in the least circumstances of any humane action: and as those that have the masons word, secretly discern one another; so in the peeling or cutting but of an onion, a Guelph and *vice versa* would at first sight have distinguished a Ghibiline. Now one of this latter sort coming at Rome to confession upon Ash-Wednesday, the Pope or the penitentiary sprinkling ashes on the man's head with the usual ceremony, instead of pronouncing *memento homo quod cinis es* & *in cinerem revertéris*; changed it to *memento homo quod Ghibilinus es*, &c. And even thus it fares with Mr. B. who though he should creep on his knees up the whole stairs of scholastick penitence; I am confident neither he, nor any of his party, shall by Mr. Bayes his good will ever be absolved. And therefore truly if I were in Mr. B's case, if I could not have my confession back again, yet it should be a warning unto me not without better grounds to be so coming and so good natured for the future. But whatever he do, I hope others will consider what usage they are like to find at Mr. Bayes's hand, and not suffer themselves by the touch of his penitential rod to be transformed into beasts, even into rats, as here he hath done with Mr. B. I have indeed wondered often at this Bayes his insolence, who summons in all the world, and preacheth up only this repentance: and so frequently in his books he calls for testimonies, signal marks, publick acknowledgment, satisfaction, recantation, and I
know

know not what. He that hath made the passage to heaven so easie that one may fly thither without grace (as Gonzales to the moon only by help of his Ganfas) he that hath dis-intricated its narrow paths from those labyrinths which J. O. and Mr. B. have planted; this overseer of God's highways (if I may with reverence speak it) who hath paved a broad causeway with moral virtue thorow his kingdom; he methinks should not have made the process of loyalty more difficult than that of salvation. What signal marks, what testimonies would he have of this conversion? Every man cannot, as he hath done, write an Ecclesiastical Policy; a Defence; a Preface; and some, if they could, would not do it after his manner; lest instead of obliging thereby the King and the Church, it should be a testimony to the contrary. Neither, unless men have better principles of allegiance at home, are they likely to be reduced by Mr. Baycs his way of perswasion. He is the first minister of the gospel that ever had it in his commission to rail at all nations. And, though it hath been long practised, I never observed any great success by reviling men into conformity. I have heard that charms may even invite the moon out of heaven, but I never could see her moved by the rhetorick of barking. I think it ought to be highly penal for any man to impose other conditions upon his Majesties good subjects than the King expects or the law requires. When you have done all, you must yet appear before Mr. Bayes his tribunal,

and

and he hath a new test yet to put you to. I must confess at this rate the nonconformists deserve some compassion: that after they have done or suffered legally, and to the utmost, they must still be subjected to the wand of a verger, or to the wanton lash of every pedant; that they must run the ganteloop, or down with their breeches as oft as he wants the prospect of a more pleasing nudity. But I think they may chuse whether they will submit or no to his jurisdiction. Let them but (as I hope they do) fear God, honour the King, preserve their consciences, follow their trades, and look to their chimnies; and they need not fear Mr. Bayes and all his malice. But after he hath sufficiently insulted over Mr. B's ignorance and vanity, with other compliments of the like nature, in recompence of that candour and civility which he acknowledges him to have now learnt towards the Church of England; Mr. Bayes (forgeting what had past long since betwixt him and the bookseller) saith in excuse of his severity, that "this treatise was not published
 "to impair Mr. B's esteem in the least, but for a correction
 "of his scribbling humour, and to warn their rat-divines
 "that are perpetually nibbling and gnawing other men's
 "writings." Now I must confess, Mr. Bayes, this is a very handsome welcome to Mr. B. that was come so far to see you, and doubtless upon this encouragement he will visit you often. This is an admirable dexterity our author hath (I wish I could learn it) "to correct a man's scribbling humour with-

out

“out impairing in the least his reputation.” He is as courteous as lightning, and can melt the sword without ever hurting the scabbard. But as for their rat-divines, I wonder they are not all poisoned with nibbling at his writings, he hath strewed so much arsenick in every leaf. But however, methinks he should not have grudged them so slender a sustenance. For though there was a sow in Arcadia so fat and insensible that she suffered a rat’s nest in her buttock, and they had both diet and lodging in the same gammon; yet it is not every rat’s good fortune to be so well provided. And for push-pin-divinity, I confess it is a new term of art. I shall henceforward take notice of it, but I am afraid in general it doth not tend much to the reputation of the faculty.

And now, though he told us at the beginning, that the bookseller was the main reason of publishing this book of the Bishop and his own Preface, he tells us that the main reason of its publication was to give some check to their present disingenuity, that is to say to that of J. O. and J. O. be it at present. He is come so much nearer however to the truth, though we shall find ere we have done that there is still a mainer reason.

When I first took notice of this misunderstanding betwixt Mr. Bayes and J. O. I considered whether it were not execution day with the Latine Alphabet: whether all the

letters were not to suffer in the same manner, except C. only, which (having been the mark of condemnation) might have a pardon to serve for the executioner. I began to repent of my undertaking, being afraid that the quarrel was with the whole christ-cros-row, and that we must fight it out through all the squadrons of the vowels, the mutes, the femi-vowels, and the liquids. I foresaw a fore and endless labour, and a battle the longest that ever was read of; being probable to continue as long as one letter was left alive, or there were any use of reading. Therefore, to spare mine own pains, and prevent ink-shed, I was advising the letters to go before Mr. Bales, or any other his Majesties justices of the peace, to swear that they were in danger of their lives, and desire that Mr. Bayes might be bound to the good behaviour. But after this I had another phansie, and that not altogether unreasonable; that Mr. Bayes had, only for health and exercise-sake, drawn J. O. by chance out of the number of the rest, to try how he could rail at a letter, and that he might be well in breath upon any occasion of greater consequence. For, how perfect soever a man may have been in any science, yet without continual practice he will find a sensible decay of his faculty. Hence also, and upon the same natural ground, it is the wisdom of cats to wet their claws against the chairs and hangings, in meditation of the next rat they are to encounter. And I am confident that Mr. Bayes by this way hath brought himself into so good

good railing case, that pick what letter you will out of the alphabet, he is able to write an epistle upon it of 723 pages (I have now told them right) to the author of the Friendly Debates.

Now though this had very much of probability, I had yet a further conjecture ; that this J. O. was a talisman, signed under some peculiar influence of the heavenly bodies, and that the fate of Mr. Bayes was bound up within it. Whether it be so or no I know not: but this I am assured of, without the help either of syderal magic or judicial astrologie, that when J and O are in conjunction, they do more certainly than any of the planets forbode that a great ecclesiastical politician shall that year run mad. I confess after all this, when I was come to the dregs of my phantasie (for we all have our infirmities, and Mr. Bayes his Defence was but the blew-John of his Ecclesiastical Policy, and this Preface the tap-droppings of his Defence) I reflected whether Mr. Bayes having no particular cause of indignation against the letters there might not have been a mistake of the printer, and that they were to be read in one word Io, that use to go before Pæan: that is in English a triumph before the victory. Or whether it alluded to Io that we read of at school, the daughter of Inachus ; and that as Juno persecuted the heifer, so this was an he-cow, that is to say a bull to be baited by Mr. Bayes the thunderer. But these being con-

ceits too trivial, though a ragouſt fit enough for Mr. Bayes his palate, I was forced moreover to quit them, remarking that it was an J conſonant. And I plainly at laſt perceived that this J. O. was a very man as any of us are, and had a head, and a mouth with tongue and teeth in it, and hands with fingers and nails upon them: nay, that he could read and write, and ſpeak as well as I, or Maſter Bayes, either of us. When I once found this, the buſineſs appeared more ſerious, and I was willing to ſee what was the matter that ſo much exaſperated Mr. Bayes, who is a perſon, as he ſaith himſelf, “ of ſuch a tame and ſoftly humour, and ſo cold “ a complexion, that he thinks himſelf ſcarce capable of “ hot and paſſionate impreſſions.” I concluded that neceſſarily there muſt be ſome extraordinary accident and occaſion that could alter ſo good a nature. For I ſaw that he purſued J. O. if not from poſt to pillar, yet from pillar to poſt, and I diſcerned all along the footſteps of a moſt inveterate and implacable malice. As oft as he does but name thoſe two firſt letters, he is, like the iſland of Fayal, on fire in threeſcore and ten places.

You ſee, Mr. Bayes, that I too have improved my wit with reading the gazettes. Were you of that fellow’s diet here about town, that epicurizes upon burning coals, drinks healths in ſcalding brimſtone, ſcraunches the glaſſes for his deſert, and draws his breath through glowing tobacco pipes:

nay, to say a thing yet greater, had you never tasted other
 sustenance than the focus of burning glasses, you could not
 shew more flame than you do alwayes upon that subject.
 And yet one would think that even from the little sports,
 with your comfortable importance after supper, you should
 have learnt when J. O. came into play, to love your love
 with an J, because he is judicious, though you hate your
 love with an J, because he is jealous: and then to love your
 love with an O, because he is oraculous, though you hate
 your love with an O, because he is obscure. Is it not
 strange, that in those most benign minutes of a man's life,
 when the stars smile, the birds sing, the winds whisper, the
 fountains warble, the trees blossom, and universal nature
 seems to invite itself to the bridal; when the lion pulls in
 his claws and the aspick layes by its poyson, and all the most
 noxious creatures grow amorously innocent: that even then,
 Mr. Bayes alone should not be able to refrain his malignity!
 As you love yourself, madam, let him not come near you;
 he hath been fed all his life with vipers instead of lampres,
 and scorpions for cray fish: and if at any time he eat
 chickens they had been cramb'd with spiders, till he hath
 so invenomed his whole substance that 'tis much safer to
 bed with a mountebank before he hath taken his antidote.
 But it cannot be any vulgar furnace that hath chafed so
 cool a salamander. 'Tis not the strewing of cowitch in his
 genial bed that could thus disquiet him the first night; and
 there-

therefore let's take the candle and see whether there be not somebody underneath that hath cut the bed cords. There was a worthy divine, not many years dead, who in his younger time, being of a facetious and unlucky humour, was commonly known by the name of Tom Triplet: he was brought up at Paul's school, under a severe master, Dr. Gill, and from thence he went to the university; there he took liberty (as 'tis usual with those that are emancipated from school) to tell tales, and make the discipline ridiculous under which he was bred. But, not suspecting the doctor's intelligence, coming once to town, he went in full school to give him a visite, and expected no less than to get a play-day for his former acquaintance; but, instead of that, he found himself horsed up in a trice, though he appealed in vain to the privileges of the university, pleaded *adultus*, and invoked the mercy of the spectators; nor was he let down till the master had planted a grove of birch in his back side, for the terrour and publick example of all wags that divulge the secrets of Priscian, and make merry with their teachers. This stuck so with Triplet, that all his life-time he never forgave the doctor, but sent him every New-year's-tide an anniversary ballad to a new tune, and so in his turn avenged himself of his jerking pedagogue.

Now when I observed that of late years Mr. Bayes had regularly spawned his books; in 1670, the Ecclesiastical Policy;
in

in 1671, the Defence of the Ecclesiastical Policy; and now in 1672, this Preface to Bishop Bramhall, and that they were writ in a stile so vindictive and poynant, that they wanted nothing but rime to be right Tom Triplet, and that their edge bore always upon J. O. either in broad meanings or in plain terms; I begun to suspect that where there was so great resemblance in the effects, there might be some parallel in their causes. For though the peeks of players among themselves, or of poet against poet, or of a conformist divine against a nonconformist, are dangerous, and of late times have caused great disturbance; yet I never remarked so irreconcilable a spirit as that of boyes against their school-masters or tutors. The quarrels of their education have an influence upon their memories and understandings for ever after. They cannot speak of their teachers with any patience or civility, and their discourse is never so flippant, nor their wits so fluent as when you put them upon that theme. Nay, I have heard old men, otherwise, sober, peaceable, and good natured, who never could forgive Osbolstone, as the younger are still inveighing against Dr. Busby. It were well that both old and young would reform this vice, and consider how easy a thing it is upon particular grudges, and as they conceived out of a just censure, to slip either into juvenile petulancy or inveterate uncharitableness. And had there not been something of this in his own case, I am confident Mr. Bayes in his Ecclesiastical Policy, in
order

order to the publick peace and security of the government, could not have failed to admonish princes to beware of this growing evil, and to brandish the publick rods if not the axes against the boyes, to teach them better manners. And he would have assured them that they might have done it with all safety, notwithstanding that there were in proportion an hundred boyes against one preceptor. But therefore is it not possible that J. O. and Mr. Bayes have known one another formerly in the university; and that (as in seniority there is a kind of magistracy) Bayes being yet young J. O. conceived himself in those dayes to be his superiour, and exercised an academical jurisdiction or dominion over him? Now whether J. O. might not be too severe upon him there (for all men are prone to be cogent and supercilious when they are in office) or whether Mr. Bayes might not make some little escapes and excursions there (as young men are apt to do when they are got together) that I know not, and rather believe the contrary. But that is certain that the young wits in the universities have always an animosity against the doctors, and take a peculiar felicity in having a lucky hit at any of them. I rather suppose that after Mr. Bayes had changed the place, and his condition, to be the nobleman's chaplain, that he might commit some exorbitance in J. O's opinion, or preach or write something to J. O's reproach, and published the secrets of the holy brother-

therhood : and that J. O. having got him within his reach, did therefore (figuratively speaking)

“ ———Instead of maid Jilian,

“ Take up his Mallepillian,

“ And whipt him like a baggage—”

as Tom Triplet expresses it. This might well raise Mr. Bayes his choler, who, considering himself to be now in holy orders, and conceiving that he had been as safe as in a sanctuary under his patron's protection, must needs take it ill to be handled so irreverently. If it were thus in fact, and that J. O. might presume too much upon his former authority to give him correction ; yet it is the more excusable, if Mr. Bayes had on his part been guilty of so much dissingenuity. For though a man may be allowed once in his life to change his party, and the whole scene of his affairs, either for his safety or preferment ; nay, though every man be obliged to change an hundred times backward and forward, if his judgment be so weak and variable ; yet there are some drudgeries that no man of honour would put himself upon, and but few submit to if they were imposed : as suppose one had thought fit to pass over from one persuasion of the Christian religion unto another ; he would not chuse to spit thrice at every article that he relinquished, to curse solemnly his father and mother for having educated him in those opinions, to animate his new acquaintances to

the massacring of his former camarades. These are buſi-
 neſſes that can only be expected from a renegade of Algier
 or Tunis; to overdoe in expiation, and gain better cre-
 dence of being a ſincere Muſſulman. And truly, though
 I can ſcarcely believe that Mr. Bayes hath ſo mean and de-
 ſperate intentions, which yet his words ſeem too often to
 manifeſt, the offices however which he undertakes are almoſt
 as diſhonourable; for he hath ſo ſtudied and improved their
 jargon as he calls it, heard their ſermons and prayers ſo
 attentively, ſearched the ſcriptures ſo narrowly, that a man
 may juſtly ſuſpect he had formerly ſet up J. O's profeſſion,
 and having the language ſo perfectly, hath upon this juncture
 of affairs betaken himſelf to turn ſpy and intelligencer; and
 'tis evident that he hath travelled the country for that pur-
 poſe. So that I cannot reſemble him better than to that
 politick engine who about two years ago was employed by
 ſome of Oxford as a miſſionary among the nonconformiſts
 of the adjacent counties; and, upon deſigne, either gathered
 a congregation of his own, or preached amongſt others, till
 having got all their names, he threw off the vizard, and
 appeared in his colours, an honeſt informer. But I would
 not have any man take Mr. Bayes his fanatical geography
 for authentick, leſt he ſhould be as far miſled, as in the
 ſituation of Geneva. It ſuffices that Mr. Bayes hath done
 therein as much as ſerved to his purpoſe; and mixed pro-
 bability

bability enough for such as know not better, and whose ears are of a juſt bore for his fable.

But J. O. being of age and parts ſufficient either to manage or to neglect this quarrel, I ſhall as far as poſſible decline the mentioning of him, ſeeing I have too (upon further intelligence and conſideration) found that he was not the perſon whom Mr. Bayes principally intended. For, the truth of it is, the King was the perſon concerned from the beginning.

His Maſteſty, before his moſt happy and miraculous reſtauration, had ſent over a declaration of his indulgence to tender conſciences in eccleſiaſtical matters. Which, as it was doubtleſs the real reſult of the laſt advice left him by his glorious father, and of his own conſummate prudence and natural benignity; ſo at his return he religiously obſerved and promoted it as far as the paſſions and influences of the contrary party would give leave. For, whereas among all the decent circumſtances of his welcome return, the providence of God had ſo cooperated with the duty of his ſubjects, that ſo glorious an action ſhould neither be ſoiled with the blood of victory, nor leſſened by any capitulations of treaty, ſo not to be wanting on his part in courteſy, as I may ſay, to ſo happy a conjuncture, he impoſed upon himſelf an oblivion of former offences, and his indulgence in eccleſiaſtical affairs. And to royal and generous minds no

stipulations are so binding as their own voluntary promises : nor is it to be wondered if they hold those conditions that they put upon themselves the most inviolable. He therefore carried the Act of oblivion and indemnity thorow ; that party who had suffered vastly in the late combustions not refusing to imitate his generosity, but throwing all their particular losses and resentments into the publick reckoning. But when it came to the ecclesiastical part, the accomplishment of which only remained behind to have perfected his Majesty's felicity, the business I warrant you should not go so, (as I shall have occasion to say more particularly.) For, though I am sorry to speak it, yet it is a sad truth, that the animosities and obstinacy of some of the clergy have in all ages been the greatest obstacle to the clemency, prudence and good intentions of princes, and the establishment of their affairs. His Majesty therefore expected a better season, and having at last rid himself of a great minister of state who had headed this interest, he now proceeded plainly to recommend to his Parliament effectually and with repeated instances, the consideration of tender consciences. After the King's last representing of this matter to the Parliament, Mr. Bayes took so much time as was necessary for the maturing of so accurate a book which was to be the standard of government for all future ages, and he was happily delivered in 1670 of his Ecclesiastical Policy. And though he thought fit in this first book to treat his Majesty more tenderly than in those

those that followed, yet even in this he doth all along use great liberty and presumption. Nor can what he objects, page 282, to weak consciences, take place so justly upon them as upon himself: who, while his prince might expect his compliance, doth give him counsel, advises him how to govern the kingdom, blames and corrects the laws, and tells him how this and the other might be mended. But that I may not involve the thing in generals, but represent undeniably Mr. Bayes his performance in this undertaking, I shall without art write down his own words and his *quod scripsi scripsi*, as they ly naked to the view of every reader.

The grand thesis upon which he stakes not only all his own divinity and policy, his reputation; preferment, and conscience, of most of which he hath no reason to be prodigal; but even the crowns and fate of princes, and the liberties, lives and estates, and, which is more, the consciences of their subjects, which are too valuable to be trusted in his disposal, is this, page 10. “That it is absolutely
 “ necessary to the peace and government of the world, that
 “ the supream magistrate of every commonwealth should
 “ be vested with a power to govern and conduct the con-
 “ sciences of subjects in affairs of religion.” And page 12 he explains himself more fully that “unless princes have
 “ power to bind their subjects to that religion that they
 “ apprehend

“ apprehend most advantageous to public peace and tran-
 “ quillity, and restrain those religious mistakes that tend to
 “ its subversion, they are no better than statues and images
 “ of authority.” Page 13, “ A prince is indued with a
 “ power to conduct religion, and that must be subject to
 “ his dominion as well as all other affairs of state.” Page
 27, “ If princes should forego their sovereignty over
 “ mens consciences in matter of religion, they leave
 “ themselves less power than is absolutely necessary,” And
 in brief: “ The supream government of every common-
 “ wealth, wherever it is lodged, must of necessity be univer-
 “ sal, absolute, and uncontrollable in all affairs whatsoever
 “ that concern the interests of mankind and the ends of
 “ government.” Page 32, “ He in whom the supream
 “ power resides, having authority to assign to every subject
 “ his proper function, and among others these of the priest-
 “ hood; the exercise thereof as he has power to transfer
 “ upon others, so he may if he please reserve it to himself.”
 Page 33, “ Our Saviour came not to unsettle the founda-
 “ tions of government, but left the government of the world
 “ in the same condition he found it.” Page 34, “ The govern-
 “ ment of religion was vested in princes by an antecedent
 “ right to Christ.” This being the magisterial and main point
 that he maintains, the rest of his assertions may be reckoned
 as corollaries to this Thesis, and without which indeed such
 an unlimited maxime can never be justified. Therefore, to

make a conscience fit for the horse, he says, page 89,
 “Men may think of things according to their own
 “perswasions, and assert the freedom of their judg-
 “ments against all the powers of the earth. This is the
 “prerogative of the mind of man within its own domi-
 “nions, its kingdom is intellectual, &c. Whilst conscience
 “acts within its proper sphere, the civil power is so far
 “from doing it violence, that it never can.” Page 92,
 “Mankind have the same natural right to liberty of con-
 “science in matters of religious worship as in affairs of
 “justice and honesty; that is to say, a liberty of judge-
 “ment, but not of practice.” And in the same page he
 determines christian liberty to be founded upon the reason-
 ableness of this principle. Page 308, “In cases and dis-
 “putes of publick concernment, private men are not pro-
 “perly *sui juris*; they have no power over their own
 “actions: they are not to be directed by their own judg-
 “ments, or determined by their own wills, but by the com-
 “mands and determinations of the public conscience; and
 “if there be any sin in the command, he that imposed it
 “shall answer for it, and not I whose whole duty it is to
 “obey. The commands of authority will warrant my
 “obedience, my obedience will hallow, or at least excuse
 “my action, and so secure me from sin, if not from error;
 “and in all doubtful and disputable cases, it is better to
 “err with authority than to be in the right against it: not
 “only

“ only because the danger of a little error (and so it is if it be
 “ disputable) is outweighed by the importance of the great
 “ duty of obedience, &c.”

Another of his corollaries is, “ That God hath appointed
 “ (page 80) the magistrates to be his trustees upon earth,
 “ and his officials to act and determine in moral vertues
 “ and pious devotions according to all accidents and emer-
 “ gencies of affairs ; to assign new particulars of the divine
 “ law ; to declare new bounds of right and wrong, which
 “ the law of God neither doth nor can limit.” Page 69,
 “ Moral virtue being the most material and useful part of
 “ all religion, is also the utmost end of all its other duties.”
 Page 76, “ All religion must of necessity be resolved into
 “ enthusiasm or morality ; the former is meer imposture,
 “ and therefore all that is true must be reduced to the
 “ latter.” Having thus enroled the prince, dispenced with
 conscience, and fitted up a moral religion for that con-
 science ; to shew how much those moral virtues are to be
 valued, page 53 of the Preface to his Ecclesiastical Policy,
 he affirms that “ ’tis absolutely necessary to the peace and
 “ happiness of kingdoms, that there be set up a more severe
 “ government over men’s consciences and religious per-
 “ swasions than over their vices and immoralities.” And
 page 55 of the same, “ that princes may with less hazard
 “ give liberty to men’s vices and debaucheries than their
 “ con-

“ consciences.” But for what belongs particularly to the use of their power in religion, he first (page 56 of his book) saith, “ that the Protestant reformation hath not been able to
 “ resettlement princes in their full and natural rights in reference
 “ to its concerns;” page 58, “ most Protestant princes have
 “ been frightened, not to say hector’d out of the exercise of their
 “ ecclesiastical jurisdiction;” page 271, “ if princes will be
 “ resolute (and if they will govern so they must be) they may
 “ easily make the most stubborn conscience bend to their
 “ resolutions;” page 221, “ Princes must be sure to bind
 “ on at first their ecclesiastical laws with the straightest
 “ knot, and afterwards keep them in force by the severity of
 “ their execution;” page 223, speaking of honest and well
 meaning men, “ so easy is it for men to deserve to be
 “ punished for their consciences, that there is no nation in
 “ the world, in which, were government rightly understood
 “ and duly managed, mistakes and abuses of religion would
 “ not supply the gallies with vastly greater numbers than
 “ villany.” Page 54 of the Preface to Ecclesiastical Policy,
 “ Of all villains the well-meaning zealot is the most dan-
 “ gerous;” page 49, “ the fanatick party in country towns
 “ and villages ariseth not (to speak within compass) above
 “ the proportion of one to twenty. Whilst the publick
 “ peace and settlement is so unluckily defeated by quarrels
 “ and mutinies of religion, to erect and create new trading
 “ combinations, is only to build so many nests of faction

“and sedition, &c. for it is notorious that there is not any sort of people so inclinable to seditious practices as the trading part of a nation.” And now though many as material passages might be heaped up out of his book on all those and other as tender subjects, I shall conclude this imperfect enumeration with one corollary more, to which indeed his grand Thesis and all the superstructures are subordinate and accommodated. Page 166, “princes cannot pluck a pin out of the church, but the state immediately shakes and totters.” This is the syntagm of Mr. Bayes his divinity, and system of his policy: the principles of which confine upon the territories of Malmesbury, and the stile, as far as his wit would give him leave, imitates that language: but the arrogance and dictature with which he imposes it on the world, surpasses by far the presumption either of Gondibert or Leviathan. For he had indeed a very politick fetch or two that might have made a much wiser man than he, more confident. For he imagined first of all, that he had perfectly secured himself from any man’s answering him: not so much upon the true treason, that is, because indeed so paltry a book did not deserve an answer; as because he had so confounded the question with differing terms and contradictory expressions, that he might upon occasion affirm whatsoever he denied, or deny whatsoever he affirmed. And then besides, because he had so intangled the matter of conscience with the magistrates power,

power, that he supposed no man could handle it thorowly without bringing himself within the statute of treasonable words, and at least a Premunire. But last of all, because he thought that whosoever answered him must for certain be of a contrary judgement, and he that was of a contrary judgement should be a fanatick; and if one of them presumed to be meddling, then Mr. Bayes (as all divines have a non-obstinance to the *jejunium Cæcilianum*, and to the act of oblivion and indemnity) would either burn that, or tear it in pieces. Being so well fortified on this side upon the other he took himself to be impregnable. His Majesty must needs take it kindly that he gave him so great an accession of territory, and, lest he should not be thought rightly to understand government, nay, lest Mr. Bayes by virtue of page 171, should not think him fit to govern, he could not in prudence and safety but submit to his admonition and instructions. But if he would not, Mr. Bayes knew, ay that he did, how to be even with him, and would write another book that should do his business. For, the same power that had given the prince that authority could also revoke it.

But let us see therefore what success the whole contrivance met with, or what it deserved. For, after things have been laid with all the depth of humane policy there happens lightly some ugly little contrary accident from some quar-

ter or other of heaven, that frustrates and renders all ridiculous.

And here, for brevity and distinction sake, I must make use of the same privilege by which I call him Mr. Bayes, to denominate also his several aphorisms or hypotheses: and let him take care whether or no they be significant.

1. The unlimited magistrate. 2. The publick conscience. 3. Moral grace. 4. Debauchery tolerated. 5. Persecution recommended. And lastly, pushpin divinity.

And now, though I intend not to be longer than the nature of animadversions requires, (this also being but collateral to my work of examining the preface, and having been so abundantly performed already) yet neither can I proceed well without some preface. For as I am obliged to ask pardon if I speak of serious things ridiculously; so I must now beg excuse if I should hap to discourse of ridiculous things seriously. But I shall, so far as possible, observe decorum, and, whatever I talk of, not commit such an absurdity, as to be grave with a buffoon. But the principal cause of my apology is, because I see I am drawn in to mention kings and princes, and even our own; whom, as I think of with all duty and reverence, so I avoid speaking of either in jest or earnest, lest by reason of my private condition and breeding I should, though most unwillingly, trip in a word, or fail in the mannerliness of an expression. But Mr. Bayes, because
princes

princes sometimes hear men of his quality play their part, or preach a sermon, grows so insolent that he thinks himself fit to be their governour. So dangerous it is to let such creatures be too familiar. They know not their distance, and like the ass in the fable, because they see the spaniel play with their master's leggs, they think themselves priviledged to paw and ramp upon his shoulders. Yet though I must follow his track now I am in, I hope I shall not write after his copy.

As for his first hypothesis of the unlimited magistrate, I must for this once do him right, that after I had read in his 12th page, "that princes have power to bind their subjects to that religion they apprehend most advantageous to publick peace and tranquillity;" a long time after, not as I remember, till page 82, when he bethought himself better, he saith, "no rites nor ceremonies can be esteemed unlawful in the worship of God, unless they tend to debauch men either in their practices or their conceptions of the Deity." But no man is in ingenuity obliged to do him that service for the future; neither yet doth that limitation bind up or interpret what he before so loosely affirmed. However take all along the power of the magistrate as he hath stated it; I am confident if Bishop Bramhall were alive (who could no more forbear Grotius, than Mr. Bayes could the bishop, notwithstanding their friendship) he would bestow the same censure upon him
that

that he doth upon Grotius, page 18, “ When I read his
 “ book of the right of the sovereign magistrate in sacred
 “ things, he seemed to me to come too near an Eraſtian,
 “ and to leſſen the power of the keys too much, which
 “ Chriſt left as a legacy to his church. It may be he
 “ did write that before he was come to full maturity of
 “ judgement : and ſome other things, I do not ſay after he
 “ was ſuperannuated, but without that due deliberation
 “ which he uſeth at other times ;” (wherein a man may de-
 fire Mr. Bayes in Mr. Bayes) “ or it may be ſome things
 “ may be changed in his book, as I have been told by one
 “ of his neareſt friends, and that we ſhall ſhortly ſee a more
 “ authentick edition of all his works. This is certain, that
 “ ſome of thoſe things which I diſlike, were not his own
 “ judgement after he was come to maturity in theological
 “ matter.” And had Mr. Bayes (as he ought to have
 done) carryed his book to any of the preſent biſhops or
 their chaplains, for a licence to print it, I cannot conceive
 that he could have obtained it in better terms than what I
 have collected out of the 108 page of his anſwerer : “ Not-
 “ withſtanding the old pleas of the *jus divinum* of epifco-
 “ pacy, of example and direction apoſtolicall, of a parity of
 “ reaſon between the condition of the church whilſt un-
 “ der extraordinary officers, and whilſt under ordinary,
 “ of the power of the church to appoint ceremonies for
 “ decency and order, of the pattern of the churches of
 “ old ;

“old;” (all which under protestation are reserved till the first opportunity.) I have upon reading of this book, found that it may be of use for the present juncture of affairs, and therefore let it be printed. And as I think, he hath dis-obliged the clergy of England in this matter; so I believe the favour that he doth his Majesty is not equivalent to that damage. For that I may, with Mr. Bayes his leave, prophane Ben Johnson, though the gravest divines should be his flaterers; he hath a very quick sense, (shall I prophane Horace too in the same period?)

Hunc male si palpere recalcitrat undiq; tutus.

If one stroke him ill-favouredly, he hath a terrible way of kicking, and will fling you to the stable-door; but is himself safe on every side. He knows it's all but that you may get into the saddle again; and that the priest may ride him, though it be to a precipice. He therefore contents himself with the power that he hath inherited from his royal progenitors kings and queens of England, and it is declared by Parliament, and is not to be trepanned into another kind of tenure of dominion to be held at Mr. Bayes his pleasure, and depend upon the strength only of his argument. But (that I may not offend in Latin too frequently) he considers that by not assuming a Deity to himself, he becomes secure and worthy of his government. There are lightly about the courts of princes a sort of projectors for concealed lands,

to which they entitle the King to beg them for themselves : and yet generally they get not much by it, but are exceeding vexatious to the subject. And even such an one is this Bayes with his project of concealed power, that most princes as he saith have not yet rightly understood ; but whereof the King is so little enamoured, that I am confident, were it not for prolling and molesting the people, his Majesty would give Mr. Bayes the patent for it, and let him make his best on't, after he hath paid the fees to my Lord Keeper.

But one thing I must confess is very pleasant, and he hath past an high compliment upon his Majesty in it : that he may, if he please, reserve the priesthood and the exercise of it to himself. Now this indeed is surprising ; but this only troubles me, how his Majesty would look in all the sacerdotal habiliments, and the pontifical wardrobe. I am afraid the King would find himself incommoded with all that furniture upon his back, and would scarce reconcile himself to wear even the lawn sleeves and the surplice. But what ? even Charles the fifth, as I have read, was, at his inauguration by the Pope, content to be vested, according to the Roman ceremonial, in the habit of a deacon : and a man would not scruple too much the formality of the dress in order to empire.

But one thing I doubt Mr. Bayes did not well consider ; that, if the King may discharge the function of the priesthood,

hood, he may too (and 'tis all the reason in the world) assume the revenue. It would be the best subsidy that ever was voluntarily given by the clergy. But truly otherwise, I do not see but that the King does lead a more unblameable conversation, and takes more care of souls than many of them, and understands their office much better, and deserves something already for the pains he hath taken.

The next is Publick Conscience. For as to mens private consciences he hath made them very inconsiderable, and reading what he saith of them with some attention, I only found this new and important discovery and great privilege of Christian liberty, that "thought is free." We are however obliged to him for that, seeing by consequence we think of him what we please. And this he saith a man may assert against all the powers of the earth; and indeed with much reason and to great purpose, seeing, as he also alledges, the civil power is so far from doing violence to that liberty, that it never can. But yet if the freedom of thoughts be in not lying open to discovery, there have been ways of compelling men to discover them; or, if the freedom consist in retaining their judgments when so manifested, that also hath been made penal. And I doubt not but beside oaths and renunciations, and assents and consents, Mr. Bayes, if he were searched, hath twenty other tests and picklocks in his pocket. Would Mr. Bayes then perswade men to assert

this against all the powers of the earth? I would ask in what manner? To say the truth I do not like him, and would wish the nonconformists to be upon their guard, lest he trepan them first by this means into a plot, and then preach, and so hang them: If Mr. Bayes meant otherwise in this matter, I confess my stupidity, and the fault is most his own, who should have writ to the capacity of vulgar readers. He cuts indeed and falters in this discourse, which is no good sign, perswading men that they may, and ought to practise against their consciences, where the commands of the magistrate intervene. None of them denies that it is their duty, where their judgments or consciences cannot comply with what is enjoined, that they ought in obedience patiently to suffer; but further they have not learned I dare say that the casual divinity of the jesuites is all thorow as orthodox as this maxime of our author's: and as the opinion is brutish, so the consequences are devilish. To make it therefore go down more glibly, he saith, that "'tis better
 " to err with authority, than to be in the right against it in
 " all doubtful disputable cases: because the great duty of
 " obedience outweighs the danger of a little error, (and
 " little it is if it be disputable)". I cannot understand the truth of this reasoning, that whatsoever is disputable is little; for even the most important matters are subject to controversy: and besides things are little or great according to the eyes or understandings of several men; and however,

a man

a man would suffer something rather than commit that little error against his conscience, which must render him an hypocrite to God, and a knave amongst men. "The commands," he saith, "and determinations of the publick conscience ought to carry it; and if there be any sin in the command, he that imposed it shall answer for it, and not I whose duty it is to obey;" (and mark) "the commands of authority will warrant my obedience, my obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my action, and so secure me from sin if not from error;" and so you are welcome, gentlemen. Truly a very fair and conscionable reckoning! so far is this from hallowing the action, that I dare say it will, if followed home, lead only to all that sanctified villany, for the invention of which we are beholden to the author. But let him have the honour of it; for he is the first divine that ever taught Christians-how another man's sin could confer an imputative righteousness upon all mankind that shall follow and comply with it. Though the subject made me serious, yet I could not read the expression without laughter: "My obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my action." So inconsiderable a difference he seems to make betwixt those terms, that if ever our author come for his merits to be a bishop, a man might almost adventure instead of consecrated to say that he was excused.

The third is Moral Grace. And whoever is not satisfied with those passages of his concerning it, before quoted, may find enough where he discourseth it at large, even to surfeit. I cannot make either less or more of it than that he overturns the whole fabrick of Christianity, and power of religion. For my part, if grace be resolved into morality, I think a man may almost as well make God too to be only a notional and moral existence.

And white-aproned Amaryllis was of that opinion :

*Ma tu sanctissima honestà, che sola sei d'alma ben nata
inviolabil nume.*

“ But thou most holy honesty, that only art the inviolable Deity of the well-born foul.”

And so too was the moral poet : (for why may not I too bring out my Latin shreds as well as he his,

*Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos)
Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia——*

“ There is no need of a Deity where there is prudence ; or,
“ if you will, where there is Ecclesiastical Policy.”

But so far I must do Mr. Bayes right, that to my best observation, if prudence had been God, Bayes had been a most damnable atheist. Or, perhaps only an idolater of
their

their number, concerning whom he adds in the next line

—*sed te*

Nos facimus, fortuna, deam cæloque locamus.

“ But we make thee, fortune, a goddess, and place thee
“ in heaven.”

However I cannot but be sorry that he hath undertaken this desperate vocation, when there are twenty other honest and painful wayes wherein he might have got a living, and made fortune propitious. But he cares not upon what argument or how dangerous he runs to shew his ambitious activity: whereas those that will dance upon ropes, do lightly some time or other break their necks. And I have heard that even the Turk, every day he was to mount the high rope, took leave of his *comfortable importance* as if he should never see her more. But this is a matter foreign to my judicature, and therefore I leave him to be tryed by any jury of divines: and, that he may have all right done him, let half of them be school divines and the other moiety systematical, and let him except against as many as the law allows, and so God send him a good deliverance. But I am afraid he will never come off.

The fourth is Debauchery Tolerated. For supposing as he does; that 'tis better and “ safer to give a toleration to
“ mens

“ mens debaucheries than to their religious perfwasions,” it amounts to the ſame reckoning. This is a very ill way of diſcourſing; and that a “ greater ſeverity ought to be exerciſed over mens conſciences than over their vices and immoralities.” For it argues too much indiſcretion by avoiding one evil to run up into the contrary extream; and debauched perſons will be ready hence to conclude, although it be a perverſe way of reaſoning, that where the ſeverity ought to be leſs, the crime is leſs alſo: nay, even that the more they are debauched, it is juſt that the puniſhment ſhould ſtill abate in proportion; but however, that it were very imprudent and unadviſable to reform and err on the religious hand, leſt they ſhould thereby incur the greater penalties. Mr. Bayes would have done much better had he ſingled out the theme of religion; he might have loaded it with all the truth which that ſubject would bear; I would allow him that “ rebellion is as the ſin of witchcraft,” though that text of ſcripture will ſcarce admit his interpretation. He could not have declaimed more ſharply than I, or any honeſt man elſe, would upon occaſion againſt all thoſe who under pretence of conſcience raiſe war, or create publick diſturbances. But compariſons of vice are dangerous, and though he ſhould do this without deſign, yet, while he aggravates upon religion, and puts it in balance, he doth ſo far alleviate and encourage debauchery. And moreover (which to be ſure is againſt his deſign) he doth hereby

hereby more confirm the aufterer fort of finners, and furnifhes them with a more fpecious colour and ftronger argument. It had been better policy to inſtruct the magiſtrate that there is no readier way to ſhame theſe out of their religious niceties than by improving mens morals. But, as he handles it, never was there any point more unreaſonably expoſed; at ſuch a time, when there is ſo general a depravation of manners, that even thoſe who contribute towards it do yet complain of it; and though they cannot reform their practice, yet feel the effects, and tremble under the apprehenſion of the conſequences. It were eaſie here to ſhew a man's reading, and to diſcourſe out of hiſtory the cauſes of the decay and ruine of Mr. Bayes his Roman empire, when as the moralift has it,

—ſævior armis .

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.

And deſcending to thoſe times ſince Chriſtianity was in the throne, 'tis demonſtrable that for one war upon a fanatical or religious account, there have been an hundred occaſioned by the thirſt of glory and empire that hath inflamed ſome great prince to invade his neighbours. And more have ſprung from the contentiouſneſs and ambition of ſome of the clergy; but the moſt of all from the corruption of manners, and alwayes fatal debauchery. It exhauſts the eſtates of private perſons, and makes them fit for nothing but the highway

or an army. It debases the spirits and weakens the vigor of any nation ; at once indisposing them for war, and rendring them incapable of peace. For, if they escape intestine troubles, which would certainly follow when they had left themselves, by their prodigality or intemperance, no other means of subsistence but by preying upon one another ; then must they either, to get a maintenance, pick a quarrel with some other nation, wherein they are sure to be worsted ; or else (which more frequently happens) some neighbouring prince that understands government take them at the advantage, and, if they do not like ripe fruit fall into his lap, 'tis but shaking the tree once or twice, and he is sure of them. Where the horses are, like those of the Sybarites, taught to dance, the enemy need only learn the tune and bring the fiddles. But therefore (as far as I understand) his Majesty, to obviate and prevent these inconveniencies in his kingdoms, hath on the one hand never refused a just war ; that so he might take down our grease and luxury, and keep the English courage in breath and exercise : and on the other, (though himself most constantly addicted to the church of England) hath thought fit to grant some liberty to all other sober people, (and longer than they are so God forbid they should have it) thereby to give more temper and alloy to the common and notorious debauchery.

But Mr. Bayes nevertheless is for his fifth : Persecution recommended : and he does it to the purpose. Julian himself,
 2 who

who I think was first a reader, and held forth in the christian churches before he turned apostate and then persecutor, could not have outdone him either in irony or cruelty. Only it is God's mercy that Mr. Bayes is not emperor. You have seen how he inveighs against trade : " that whilst
 " mens consciences are actuated by such peevish and ungo-
 " vernable principles, to erect trading combinations is but to
 " build so many nests of faction and sedition." Lay up your
 ships, my masters, set bills on your shop-doors, shut up the
 custom-house ; and why not adjourn the term, mure up
 Westminster-hall, leave plowing and sowing, and keep a
 dismal holy-day through the nation ; for Mr. Bayes is out
 of humour. But I assure you it is no jesting matter. For
 he hath in one place taken a list of the fanatick ministers,
 whom he reckons to be but a hundred systematical divines :
 though I believe the Bartlemew-register or the March-licen-
 ses would make them about an hundred and three or an
 hundred and four, or so : but this is but for rounder num-
 ber, and breaks no square. And then for their people,
 either " they live in greater societies of men," (he means the
 city of London and the other cities and towns corporate, but
 expresses it so to prevent some inconvenience that might be-
 tide him ;) " but there their noise is greater than their num-
 " ber. Or else in country towns and villages, where they
 " arise not above the proportion of one to twenty." It
 were not unwisely done indeed if he could persuade the ma-

gistrate that all the fanaticks have but one neck, so that he might cut off nonconformity at one blow. I suppose the nonconformists value themselves though, upon their conscience, and not their numbers: but they would do well to be watchful, lest he have taken a list of their names as well as their number, and have set crosses upon all their doors against there should be occasion. But till that "happy juncture," when Mr. Bayes "shall be avenged of his new enemies, the wealthy fanaticks," (which is soon done too, for he saith, "there are but few of them men of estates or interest") he is contented that they should only be exposed (they are his own expressions) to the "pillories, whipping-posts, galleys, rods and axes;" and moreover and above to all other punishments whatsoever, provided they be of a severer nature than those that are inflicted on men for their immoralities. O more than human clemency! I suppose the division betwixt immoralities and conscience is universal; and whatsoever is wicked or penal is comprehended within their territories. So that although a man should be guilty of all those heinous enormities which are not to be named among Christians, beside all lesser peccadilloes expressly against the Ten Commandments, or such other part of the divine law as shall be of the magistrates making, he shall be in a better condition, and more gently handled, than a "well-meaning zealot;" for this is the man that Mr. Bayes saith "is of all villains the most dangerous:" (even more dangerous it seems than

than a malicious and ill-meaning zealot) this is he whom in “all kingdoms where government is rightly understood,” he would have condemned “to the galleys for his mistakes and “abuses of religion.” Although the other punishments are more severe, yet this being more new and unacquainted, I cannot pass it by without some reflection. For I considered what princes make use of galleys. The first that occurred to me was the Turk, who, according to Bayes his maxim, hath established Mahometism among his subjects, as the “religion that he apprehends most advantageous to public “peace and settlement.” Now in his empire the Christians only are guilty of those “religious mistakes that tend to the “subversion of Mahometism:” so that he understands government rightly in chaining the Christians to the oar. But then in Christendom, all that I could think of were the king of France, the king of Spain, the Knights of Malta, the Pope, and the rest of the Italian princes. And these all have bound their subjects to the Romish religion as most advantageous. But these people have their galleys with immoral fellows and debauchees: whereas the Protestants, being their fanatics and mistakers in religion, should have been their *ciurma*. But it is to be hoped these princes will take advice and understand it better for the future. And then at last I remembered that his Majesty too hath one galley lately built, but I dare say it is not with that intention: and our fanatics, though few, are so many, that one will not serve. But therefore if Mr.

Bayes and his partners would be at the charge to build the king a whole Squadron for this use, I know not but it might do very well (for we delight in novelties) and it would be a singular obligation to Sir John Baptift Dutel, who might have some pretence to be general of his Majesty's galleys. But so much for that. Yet in the mean time I cannot but admire at Mr. Bayes his courage; who knowing how dangerous a villain a well-meaning zealot is, and having calculated to a man how many of them there are in the whole nation, yet dares thus openly stimulate the magistrate against them, and talk of nothing less, but much more than pillories, whipping-posts, galleys and axes in this manner. It is sure some sign (and if he knew not so much he would scarce adventure) of the peaceableness of their principles, and of that restraint under which their tender consciences hold them, when nevertheless he may walk night and day in safety; though it were so easy a thing to deifie the divine after the ancient manner, and no man be the wiser. But that which I confess would vex me most, were I either an ill or a well meaning zealot, would be, after all, to hear him (as he frequently does) sneering at me in an ironical harangue to persuade me, forsooth, to take all patiently for conscience sake, and the good example of mankind: nay, to wheedle one almost to make himself away to save the hangman a labour. It was indeed near that pass in the primitive times, and the tired magistrates asked them, whether they had not

altars and rivers and precipices, if they were so greedy of suffering? But, by the good leave of your insolence, we are not come to that yet. *Non tibi sed Petro*: or rather, *sed Regi*. The nonconformists have suffered as well as any men in the world, and could do so still if it were his Majesty's pleasure. Their duty to God hath hallowed, and their duty to the magistrate hath excused both their pain and ignominy. To die by a noble hand is some satisfaction: but when his Majesty, for reasons best known to himself, hath been graciously pleased to abate of your rigors, I hope, Mr. Bayes, that we shall not see when you have a mind to junket with your comfortable importance, that the entremets shall be of a fanatic's giblets: nor that a nonconformist's head must be whipped off as oft as your nose drivels. It is sufficient, Sir, we know your inclination, we know your abilities, and we know your lodging: and when there is any further occasion you will doubtless be sent for. For, to say the truth, this Bayes is an excellent tool, and more useful than ten other men. I will undertake that he shall, rather than fail, be the trepanner, the informer, the witness, the attorney, the judge; and, if the nonconformist need the benefit of his book, he shall be ordinary too, and say he is an ignorant fellow, *non legit*: and then, to do him the last christian office, he would be his hangman. In the mean time, let him enjoy it in speculation, secure of all the employments when they shall fall. For I know no gentleman that will take any of them out of his

his

his hands, although it be in an age wherein men cannot well support their quality, without some accession from the publick : and for the ordinary sort of people, they are, I know not by what disaster, besotted and abandoned to fanaticism. So that Mr. Bayes must either do it himself in person, or constitute the chief magistrate to be his deputy. But princes do indeed understand themselves better most of them, and do neither think it so safe to intrust a clergyman with their authority, nor decent for themselves to do the drudgery of the clergy, that would have past in the days of Saint Dominick : but when even the Inquisition hath lost its edge in the popish countries, there is little appearance it should be set up in England. It were a worthy spectacle, were it not ? to see his Majesty, like the governor in Synesius, busied in his cabinet among those engines whose very names are so hard that it is some torture to name them ; the Podostrobæ, the Dactylethræ, the Otagræ, the Rhinolabides, the Cheilostrophia, devising, as they say there are particular diseases, so a peculiar rack for every limb and member of a Christian's body. Or, would he (with all reverence be it spoken) exchange his kingdom of England for that of Macassar ? where the great *arcantum* of Government is the cultivating of a garden of poysonous plants, and preparing thence a poyson, in which the prince dips a dart that where it does but draw blood, rots the person immediately to pieces ; and his office is with that to be the executioner of his subjects. God
be

be praised his Majesty is far of another temper : and he is wife, though some men be malicious.

But Mr. Bayes his fixth is that which I call his push-pin divinity. For he would perswade princes that there cannot be a pin pulled out of the church, but the state immediately totters. That is strange. And yet I have seen many a pin pulled out upon occasion, and yet not so much as the church itself hath wagged. It is true indeed, and we have had sad experiments of it, that some clergymen have been so opiniaftre that they have rather exposed the state to ruin, than they would part with a pin, I will not say out of their church, but out of their sleeve. There is nothing more natural than for the ivy to be of opinion that the oak cannot stand without its support : or, seeing we are got into ivy, that the church cannot hold up longer than it underprops the walls : whereas it is a sneaking insinuating imp, scarce better than bindweed, that sucks the tree dry, and moulders the building where it catches. But what, pray Mr. Bayes, is this pin in Pallas's buckler ? “Why it is some
 “ ceremony or other, that is indifferent in its own nature ;
 “ that hath no antecedent necessity but only as commanded ;
 “ that signifies nothing in itself, but what the commander .
 “ pleases ; that even by the church which commands it, is
 “ declared to have nothing of religion in it ; and that is
 “ in itself of no great moment or consequence, only it is ab-
 “ solutely

“folutely neceffary that governours fhould enjoyn it, to avoid
 “the evils that would follow if it were not determined.”

Very well, Mr. Bayes. This I fee will keep cold: anon perhaps I may have a ftomach. But I muft take care left I fwallow your pin.

Here we had the titles, and fome fhort rehearfal of Mr. Bayes his fix plays. Not but that, fhould we difvalife him, he hath to my knowledge a hundred more as good in his budget: but really I confult mine own repofe. But now among friends, was there ever any thing fo monftrous? you fee what a man may come to with divinity and high feeding. There is a fcurvy difeafe, which though fome derive from America, others tell a ftory that the Genouefes in their wars with Venice took fome of their noblemen, whom they cut to pieces and barreled up like tunny, and fo maliciously vented it to the Venetians, who eating it ignorantly, broke out in thofe nafty botches and ugly fymptoms, that are not curable but by mercury. What I relate it for is out of no further intention, nor is there any more fimilitude than that the mind too hath its nodes fometimes, and the ftile its buboes, and that I doubt before Mr. Bayes can be rid of them, he muft pafs through the grand cure and a dry diet.

And now it is high time that I refume the thread of my former hiftory concerning Mr. Bayes his books in relation to his Majefty. I do not find that the Ecclefiaftical Policy found
 more

more acceptance than could be expected from so judicious a prince: nor do I perceive that he was ever considered of at a promotion of bishops, nor that he hath the reversion of the archbishoprick of Canterbury. But if he have not by marriage barred his way, and if it should ever fall to his lot, I am resolved instead of his *Grace* to call him always his *Morality*. But as he got no preferment that I know of at court (though his patron doubtless, having many things in his gift, did abundantly recompence him) so he mist no less of his aim as to the reformation of ecclesiastical government upon his principles. But still, what he complains of page 20. the ecclesiastical laws were either weakened through want of execution, or in a manner cancelled by the opposition of civil constitutions. For, beside what in England, where all things went on at the same rate, in the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland there were I know not how many Mas Johns restored in one day to the work of their ministry, and a door opened whereby all the rest might come in for the future, and all this by his Majesty's commission. Nay, I think there was (a thing of very ill example) an archbishop turned out of his see for some misdemeanor or other. I have not been curious of his name nor his crime, because as much as possible I would not expose the nakedness of any person so eminent formerly in the church. But henceforward the king fell into disgrace with Mr. Bayes, and any one that had eyes might discern that our author did not afford

his Majesty that countenance and favour which he hath formerly enjoyed. So that a book too of J. O's happening mischievously to come out at the same season, upon pretence of answering that, he resolved to make his Majesty feel the effects of his displeasure. So that he set pen to paper again, and having kept his midwife of the Friendly Debate by him all the time of his pregnancy for fear of miscarrying, he was at last happily delivered of his second child, the Defence of the Ecclesiastical Policy, in the year 1671. It was a very lusty baby, and twice as big as the former, and (which some observed as an ill sign, and that if it lived it would prove a great tyrant) it had, when born, all the teeth, as perfect as ever you saw in any man's head. But I do not reckon much upon those ominous criticisimes. For there was partly a natural cause in it, Mr. Bayes having gone so many months, more than the civil law allowes for the utmost term of legitimation, that it was no wonder if the brat were at its birth more forward than others usually are. And indeed Mr. Bayes was so provident against abortion, and careful for some reasons that the child should cry, that the only question in town (though without much cause, for truly it was very like him) was, whether it was not spurious or supposititious. But allegories and raillery and hard words appear in this his second book, and what I quoted before out of Bishop Bramhall, page 18. with allusion to our author is here fallen out as exactly true as if it had been expressly calculated for Bayes

his

his meridian. He finds himself to have come too near, nay to have far outgone an Eraſtian, that he had writ his Eccleſiaſtical Policy before he was come to maturity of judgment, that one might deſire Mr. Bayes in Mr. Bayes, that ſomething had been changed in his book, that a more authentick edition was neceſſary, that ſome things which he had ſaid before, were not his judgement after he was come to maturity in theological matters.

I will not herein too much inſiſt upon his reply, where his answerer aſks him pertinently enough to his grand Theſis, what was then become of their old plea of *Jus Divinum*? Why, ſaith he, muſt you preſcribe me what I ſhall write? perhaps my next book ſhall be of that ſubject. For, perhaps he ſaid ſo only for evaſion, being old and excellent at parrying and fencing. Though I have good reaſon to believe that we may ſhortly ſee ſome piece of his upon that theme, and in defence of an aphoriſm of a great prelate in the laſt king's time, "That the king had no more to do in eccleſiaſtical matters, than Jack that rubbed his horſes heels." For Mr. Bayes is ſo enterpriſing you know, "look to't, "I'll do't." He has face enough to ſay or unſay any thing, and it is his priviledge, what the ſchool-divines deny to be even within the power of the Almighty, to make contradictions true. An evidence of which (though I reſerve the further inſtances to another occaſion that draws near)

does plainly appear in what I now principally urge, to shew how dangerous a thing it is for his Majesty and all other princes to lose Mr. Bayes his favour. For whereas he had all along in his first book treated them like a company of ignorants, and that did not understand government, (but that is pardonable in Mr. Bayes) in this his second, now that they will not do as he would have them, when he had given them power and instructions how to be wiser for the future, he casts them quite off like men that were desperate. He had, you know, page 35 of his first book, and in other places, vested them with an universal and unlimited power, and uncontrollable in the government of religion (that is, over mens consciences) but now in his second, to make them an example to all incorrigible and ungrateful persons, he strips and disrobes them again of all those regal ornaments that he had superinduced upon them, and leaves them good princes in *querpo* as he found them, to shift for themselves in the wide world as well as they can. Do but read his own words, page 237. of his Defence, paragraph 5. and sure you will be of my mind. “ To vest the supreme magistrate in an unlimited and uncontrollable power, is clearly to defeat the efficacy and obligatory force of all his laws, that cannot possibly have any binding virtue upon the minds of men, when they have no other inducement to obedience but only to avoid the penalty. But if the supreme power be absolute and unlimited, it doth for that very reason
“ remove

“ remove and evacuate all other obligations, for otherwise
 “ it is restrained and conditional ; and if men lye under no
 “ other impulſion than of the law itſelf, they lye under no
 “ other obligation than that of prudence and ſelf-intereſt,
 “ and it remains intirely in the choice of their own diſcre-
 “ tion whether they ſhall or ſhall not obey, and then there is
 “ neither government nor obligation to obedience ; and the
 “ principle of mens compliance with the mind of their ſu-
 “ periors, is not the declaration of their will and pleaſure,
 “ but purely the determination of their own judgements ;
 “ and therefore it is neceſſary for the ſecurity of govern-
 “ ment, though for nothing elſe, to ſet bounds to its jurif-
 “ diction ; otherwiſe, like the Roman empire, &c.” I
 know it would be difficult to quote twenty lines in Mr.
 Bayes, but we ſhould encounter with the Roman empire.
 But obſerve how laboriouſly here he hath aſſerted and proved
 that all he had ſaid in his firſt book was a meer miſtake be-
 fore he were come to years of diſcretion. For as in law a
 man is not accounted ſo till he hath compleated twenty one,
 and it is but the laſt minute of that time that makes him his
 own man, (as to all things but conſcience I mean, for as to
 that many are never *fui juris*) ſo though the diſtance of
 Bayes his books was but betwixt 1670 and 1671, yet a
 year, nay an inſtant at any time of a man’s life may make
 him wiſer, and he hath, like all other fruits, his annual
 maturity. It was ſo long ſince as 1670, page 33. that this
 “ univerſal

“universal unlimited and uncontrollable power was the
 “natural right of princes antecedent to Christ, firmly esta-
 “blished by the unalterable dictates of natural reason, uni-
 “versal practice, and consent of nations, that the scrip-
 “ture rather supposes than asserts the ecclesiastical (and so
 “the civil) jurisdiction of princes.” ’Twas in 1670, page
 10. That it was “absolutely necessary;” and page 12.
 “that princes have that power to bind their subjects to that
 “religion that they apprehend most advantageous to pub-
 “lick peace, &c.” So that they derive their title from
 eternal necessity, which the moralists say the gods them-
 selves cannot impeach. His Majesty may lay by his *Dieu*
 and make use only of his *Mon Droit*: he hath a patent
 for his kingdom under the broad-seal of nature, and next
 under that, and immediately before Christ, is over all per-
 sons and in all causes as well Ecclesiastical as Civil (and over
 all men’s consciences) within his Majesty’s realms and domi-
 nions supream head and governour. It is true, the author
 sometimes for fashion sake speaks in that book of religion
 and of a Deity, but his principles do necessarily, if not in
 terms, make the prince’s power paramount to both those,
 and if he may by his uncontrollable and unlimited universal
 authority introduce what religion, he may of consequence
 what Deity, also he pleases. Or if there were no Deity
 yet there must be some religion, that being an engine
 most advantageous for publick peace and tranquillity.
 This

This was in 1670; but by 1671, you see the case is altered. Even one night hath made some men gray. And now page 238 of his second book, he hath made princes accountable, ay and to so severe an auditor as God himself. "The
 " thrones of princes are established upon the dominion of
 " God." And page 241. "'Tis no part of the prince's con-
 " cernment to institute rules of moral good and evil; that
 " is the care and the prerogative of a superior lawgiver." And page 260. he owns that if the subjects can plead a clear and undoubted preengagement to that higher authority, they have liberty to remonstrate to the equity of their laws. I do not like this remonstrating nor these remonstrants. I wish again that Mr. Bayes would tell us what he means by the term, and where it will end, whether he would have the fanatics remonstrate: but they are weary, and ashamed of what they have done in former times of that nature: or whether he himself hath a mind to remonstrate, because the fanatics are tolerated. That is the thing, that is the business of this whole book: and knowing that there is a clear and undoubted preengagement to the higher authority of nature and necessity, if the king will persist in tolerating these people, who knows after remonstrating, what Mr. Bayes will do next? but now in summe what shall we say of this man, and how had the king been served if he had followed Bayes's advice, and assumed the power of his first book? he had run himself into a fine premunire, when now
 after

after all he comes to be made accountable to God, nay even to his subjects. And by this means it happens, though it were beyond Mr. Bayes his forecast, and I dare say he would rather have given the prince again a power antecedent to Christ, and to bring in what religion he please: he hath obliged him to as tender a conscience as any of his Christian subjects, and then good night to Ecclesiastical Policy. I have herein endeavoured the utmost ingenuity toward Mr. Bayes, for he hath laid himself open but to too many disadvantages already, so that I need not, I would not press him beyond measure, but to my best understanding, and if I fail I even ask him pardon, I do him right. It is true, that being distracted betwixt his desire that the consciences of men should be persecuted, and his anger at princes that will not be advised, he confounds himself every where in his reasonings, that you can hardly distinguish which is the whoop and which is the holla, and he makes indentures on each side of the way wheresoever he goes. But no man that is sober will follow him, lest some justice of the peace should make him pay his five shillings, beside the scandal; and it is apparent to every one what he drives at. But were this otherwise, I can spare it, and it is sufficient to my purpose that I do thus historically deduce the reason of his setting forth his books, and shew that it was plainly to remonstrate against the power of his prince, and the measures that he hath taken of governing; to set his

Majesty at variance not onely with his subjects, but with himself, and to raise a civil war in his intellectual kingdom, betwixt his controulable and his uncontroulable jurisdiction. And because, having to do with a wise man, as Mr. Bayes is, one may often gather more of his mind out of a word that drops casually, than out of his whole watchful and serious discourse, when he is talking of matters of policy and that require caution; I cannot flight one passage of Mr. Bayes, page 656, where raging bitterly against all the Presbyterians and other sects, and as much against the allowing them any tenderness, liberty, toleration or indulgence, he concludes thus, “Tenderness and indulgence to
 “such men, were to nourish vipers in our own bowels, and
 “the most sottish neglect of our own quiet and security,
 “and we should deserve to perish with the dishonour of
 “Sardanapalus.” Now this of Sardanapalus I remember some little thing ever since I read, I think it was my *Justine*; and I would not willingly be such a fool as to make a dangerous similitude that has no foundation. For if Mr. Bayes in the preface of his Defence, to excuse his long teeming before it were brought forth, places it partly upon his recreations: I know not why much more a prince should not “be willing to enjoy the innocent comforts of this
 “life, as well as to do the common drudgeries.” But I am thinking what Mr. Bayes meant by it; for every similitude must have, though not all, yet some likeness: now

I am fure there were no Nonconformifts and Prefbyterians in Sardanapalus his days. I am fure alfo that Sardanapalus was no clergyman, that he was no fubject; but he was one of the uncontroulable creatures, that inftead of exercising his Ecclefiastical Power delighted in spinning; till fome body came in on the fudden, and catching him at it, cut his thread. Come, it is better we left this argument and the company too, for you fee the crime, you fee the fentence: and who ever it be, there is fome prince or other whom Mr. Bayes will have to perifh. That page 64 is indeed not fo fevere, but it is pretty well; where, on the fame kind of fubject, whetting the prince againft thofe people, he faith, “that prince that hath felt the pounces
 “of thefe ravening vultures, if after that he fhall be per-
 “fuaded to regard their fair fpeeches at fuch time as they
 “want power, without other evident and unquestionable
 “tokens of their converfion, deserves to be king of the
 “night.” Now for this matter, I believe Mr. Bayes knows that his Majesty hath received fuch evident and unquestionable tokens of loyalty from the Nonconformifts; otherwife his own loyalty would have hindered him from daring to ufe that expreffion.

And now I fhould continue my hiftory to his third book in hand, the preface to Bifhop Bramhall. But having his fecond book ftill before me, I could not but look a little further

ther into it, to see how he hath left matters standing betwixt himself and his answerer. And first I lighted on that place where he strives to disintangle himself from what he had said about trade in his former book. Here therefore he defies the whole fanatick world to discover one syllable that tends to its discouragement. Let us put it upon that issue, and by this one example take the pattern of his ingenuity in all his other contests. Whoop, Mr. Bayes! page 49. “With what conscience does the answerer tell the people “that I have represented all tradesmen as seditious, when “it is so notorious I only suppose that some of them may “be tainted with seditious principles? If I should affirm “that when the nobility or clergy are possessed with principles that incline to rebellion and disloyal practices, they “are of all rebels the most dangerous, should I be thought “to impeach them of treason and rebellion?” Holla, Mr. Bayes! but in the 49th page of your first book you say expressly, “For it is notorious that there is not any sort of “people so inclinable to seditious practices as the trading “part of a nation.” Is this the same thing now? and how does this defence take off the objection? and yet he tears and insults and declaims as if he had the truth on his side. At last he strives to bring himself off and save the matter in the same page 49. with, “in brief it is not the rich citizen, “but the wealthy fanatick that I have branded for an ungodly beast, and that not as wealthy but as fanatick.”

Subtle distinguisher! I see if we give him but rope enough what he will come to. Mr. Bayes, many as proper a man as yourself hath marched up Holborn for distinguishing betwixt the wealthy and the fanatick; and moreover let me tell you, fanatick money hath no ear-mark.

So concerning the magistrates power in religion, wherein his answerer had remarked some unsafe passages: Whoop, Mr. Bayes! page 12 of his first book before quoted: "Unless princes have power to bind their subjects to what religion they apprehend most advantageous, &c. they are no better than statues of authority." Holla, Bayes! Page 467 of the second book: "this bold calumny I have already I hope competently enough discovered and de-tested. Yet he repeats this fundamental forgery in all places, so that his whole book is but one huge lye four hundred pages long." Judge now who is the forger; And yet he roars too here as if he would mix heaven and earth together. But you may spare your raving, you will never claw it off as long as your name is Bayes.

So his answerer it seems having p. 85. said, that Bayes confines the whole duty of conscience to the inward thoughts and perswasions of the mind, over which the magistrate hath no power all: Whoop, Bayes! Page 89. of his first book, "Let all matters of mere conscience, whether purely moral or religious, be subject to conscience only, *i. e.*"
 "let

“ let men think of things according to their own perfw-
 “ fions, and assert the freedom of their judgments against all
 “ the powers of the earth. This is the prerogative of the
 “ mind of man within its own dominions ; its kingdom is
 “ intellectual, &c.” Page 91. “ Liberty of conscience is in-
 “ ternal and invifible, and confined to the minds and judge-
 “ ments of men ; and while conscience acts within its pro-
 “ per fphere, the civil power is fo far from doing it violence,
 “ that it never can.” Holla, Bayes ! Page 229 of his fecond
 book, “ This in downright Englifh is a fhamelefs lye. Sir,
 “ you muft pardon my rudeneſs, for I will affure you, after
 “ long meditation, I could not deviſe a more pertinent
 “ anfwer to fo bold an one as this.” I believe you, Mr.
 Bayes : you meditated long, ſome twelve moneths at leaſt ;
 and you could not deviſe any other anfwer, and in good
 earneſt he hath not attempted to give any other anfwer. “ I
 “ confeſs ’tis no extraordinary conceit, but ’tis the beſt re-
 “ partee my barren fancy was able to fuggeſt to me upon fo
 “ rude an occaſion.” Well, Mr. Bayes ! I ſee it muſt come
 to a quarrel ; for thus the hectors uſe to do, and to give the
 lye at adventure, when they have a mind to try a man’s
 courage. But I have often known them dye on the ſpot.

So his answerer, page 134, having taxed him for his
 ſpeaking againſt an expreſſion in the act of parliament of
 5to Eliz. concerning the Wedneſday faſt. Whoop, Bayes !

Page 52. of his first book, "The act for the Wednesday
 "fast, the *Jejunium Cæcilianum*" (our ecclesiastical politician
 is the better statesman of the two by far, and may make
 sport with Cecill when he pleases) "was enjoined with this
 "clause of exception, that if any person should affirm it
 "to be imposed with an intention to bind the conscience,
 "he should be punished as a spreader of false news." So
 careful was the supreme magistrate in those days not to im-
 pose upon the conscience; and the wisdom of it is con-
 firmed by the experience of our time: when so eminent a
 divine, as I mentioned before, thought fit to write a whole
 volume concerning the holiness of Lent; though, if I be
 not deceived, this doctrine too is prohibited by act of par-
 liament, under the same penalty. But, saith Bayes there,
 "The matter indeed of this law was not of any great mo-
 "ment, but this declaration annexed to it proved of a
 "fatal and mischievous consequence." 'Tis very well
 worth reading at large: but in short the consequence (or
 the occasion it is no matter when I have to do with Bayes)
 was, that "princes how peremptory soever they have been
 "in asserting the rights of their supreme power, in civil af-
 "fairs, they have been forced to seem modest and diffident
 "in the exercise of their ecclesiastical supremacy." Now,
 Holla, Bayes! page 298 of his second book. "To what
 "purpose does he so briskly taunt me for thwarting mine
 "own principles, because I have censured the impertinency
 of a

“ of a needless provision in an act of parliament ?” Observe, these are not the answerer’s but Bayes his own words ; whereby you may see with what reverence and duty he uses to speak of his superiors and their actions, when they are not so happy as to please him. “ I may obey the law, though “ I may be of a different persuasion from the law-givers in “ an opinion remote and impertinent to the matter of the “ law itself : nay, I may condemn the wisdom of enacting “ it, and yet at the same time think myself to lie under “ an indispensable obligation to obey it : for the formal “ reason of its obligatory power (as any casuist will inform “ him) is not the judgement and opinion of the law-giver, “ but the declaration of his will and pleasure.” Very good and sound, Mr. Bayes : but here you have opened a passage ; and this is as impertinent in you and more dangerous than what you blamed in that act, that the nonconformists may speak against your ecclesiastical laws ; for their casuists then tell them that, they lying under an indispensable obligation not to conform to some of them, do fulfil and satisfy their obedience in submitting to the penalty.

I looked further into what he saith in defence of the magistrates assuming the priesthood ; what for his scheme of moral grace ; what to palliate his irreverent expressions concerning our Blessed Saviour and the Holy Spirit ; what of all other matters objected by his answerer : and if you will believe-

believe me, but I had much rather the reader would take the pains to examine all himself, there is scarce any thing but slender trifling, unworthy of a logician, and beastly raillery unbecoming any man, much more a divine. At last, having read it all through with some attention, I resolved having failed so of any thing material, to try my fortune whether it might be more lucky, and to open the book in several places as it chanced. But, whereas they say that in the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, wheresoever you light you will find something that will hit and is proper to your intention; on the contrary here, there was not any leaf that I met with but had something impertinent, so that I resolved to give it over. This onely I observed upon the whole, that he does treat his answerer the most basely and ingratfully that ever man did. For, whereas in his whole first book there was not one sound principle, and scarce any thing in the second, but what the answerer had given him occasion to amend and rectifie if he had understanding; after so great an obligation he handles him with more rudeness than is imaginable. I know it may be said in Mr. Bayes his defence, that in this his second book he hath made his matters in many places much worse than they were before. But I say that was Bayes his want of understanding, and that he knew not how to take hold of so charitable an opportunity as was offered him, and 'twas none of the answerer's fault. There are amongst men some that do not

study

study always the true rules of wisdom and honesty, but delight in a perverse kind of cunning, which sometimes may take for a while and attain their design; but most usually it fails in the end and hath a foul farewell. And such are all Mr. Bayes his plots. In all his writings he doth so confound terms, he leaps crosses, he hath more doubles (nay triples and quadruples) than any hare, so that he thinks himself secure of the hunters. And in this second book, even the length of it was some policy. For you must know it is all but an epistle to the author of the Friendly Debate; and thought he with himself, who hath so much leisure from his own affairs, that he will read a letter of another man's business of eight hundred pages? but yet, thought he again, (and I could be content they did read it) in all matters of argument I will so muddle myself in ink, that there shall be no catching no finding me; and besides I will speak always with so magisterial a confidence, that no modest man (and most ingenious persons are so) shall so much as quetch at me, but be beat out of countenance: and plain men shall think that I durst not talk at such a rate but that I have a commission. I will first, said he in his heart, like a stout vagrant, beg, and if that will not do, I will command the question, and as soon as I have got it, I will so alter the property and put on another periwig, that I defy them all for discovering me or ever finding it again. This, beside all the lock and advantage that

VOL. II, Q I have

I have the nonconformists upon since the late times ; and though they were born since, and have taken more sober principles, it shall be all one for that matter. And then for oratory and railing, let Bayes alone. This contrivance is indeed all the strength of Mr. Bayes his argument, and as he said, (how properly let the reader judge) page 69. before quoted, “ that moral virtue is not only the most
 “ material and useful part of all religion, but the ultimate
 “ end of all its other duties :” So, railing is not onely the most material and useful part of his religion, his reason, his oratory, and his practise ; but the ultimate end of this and all his other books. Otherwise he is neither so strongly fortified nor so well guarded, but that without any ceremony of trenches or approaches, you may at the very first march up to his counters-scarp without danger. He puts me in mind of the incorrigible scold, that though she was ducked over head and ears under water, yet stretched up her hands with her two thumb nails in the nit cracking posture, or with two fingers divaricated, to call the man still in that language lousy rascal and cuckold. But indeed, when I consider how miserable a wretch his answerer has rendered him, and yet how he persists still, and more to rail and revile him ; I can liken it to nothing better betwixt them, than to what I have seen with some pleasure the hawking at the magpy. The poor bird understands very well the terrible pounces of that vulture : but therefore she chatters amain
 most

most rufully, and freads and cocks her tail, fo that one that firft faw and heard the fport, would think that ſhe insulted over the hawk in that chatter, and ſhe huffed her train in token of courage and victory: when, alas! 'tis her fear all, and another way of crying the hawk mercy; and to the end that the hawk finding nothing but tail and feather to ſtrike at, ſhe may fo perhaps ſhelter her body.

Therefore I think there is nothing in my way that hinders me, but that I may now go on to the hiſtory of this Mr. Bayes his third book, the Preface to Biſhop Bramhall, and to what juncture of affairs it was reconciled. His Majeſty (perhaps upon Mr. Bayes his frequent admonitions, both in his firſt and ſecond book, that princes ſhould be more attentive and confident in exerciſing their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, though I rather believe he never deſigned to read a line in him, but what he did herein, was only the reſult of his own good underſtanding) reſolved to make ſome clear tryal how the nonconformiſts could bear themſelves under ſome liberty of conſcience. And accordingly he iſſued on March the 15th, 1671, his gracious declaration of indulgence, of which I wiſh his Majeſty and the kingdom much joy, and as far as my ſlender judgement can divine, dare augurate and preſage mutual felicity, and that whatever humane accident may happen (I fear not what Bayes foreſees) they will, they can never have cauſe to repent this action or its conſequences.

But hereupon Bayes finding that the King had so vigorously exerted his ecclesiastical power, but to a purpose quite contrary to what Mr. Bayes had always intended, he grew terrible angry at the King and his privy council : so that hereupon “ he started,” as himself says, “ into many warm and “ glowing meditations : his heart burnt and the fire kindled, “ and that heated him into all this wild and rambling talk (as “ some will be forward enough to call it) though he hopes ‘it “ is not altogether idle, and whether it be or be not, he hath “ now neither leisure nor patience to ‘examine.” This he confesses upon his best recollection, in the last page of this preface : whereupon I cannot but animadvert, as in my first page, that this too lies open to his dilemma against the non-conformists prayers : for if he will not accept his own charge, his modesty is all impudent and counterfeit : if he does not acknowledge it, he is an hot-headed incendiary ; and a wild rambling talker, and in part, if not altogether, an idle fellow. Really I cannot but pity him, and look upon him as under some great disturbance and despondency of mind : that this with some other scattering passages here and there, argues him to be in as ill a case as Tiberius was in his distracted letter to the senate : there wants nothing of it but the *Dii Deæque me perdant*, wishing, Let the Gods and Goddesses confound him worse than he finds himself to be every day confounded. But that I may not lose my thread. Upon occasion of this his Majesty’s gracious declaration, and against it,

it, he writes this his third book, the Preface to Bishop Bramhall, and accordingly was unhappily delivered of it in June (I had forgot) or July, in 1672. For he did not go his full time of it, but miscarried; partly by a fright from J. O. and partly by a fall he had upon a Closer Importance. But of all his three bolts this was the soonest shot, and therefore 'tis no wonder if he missed his mark, and took no care where his arrow glanced. But what he saith of his Majesty and his council, being toward the latter end of his discourse, I am forced to defer that a little, because, there being no method at all in his wild rambling talk, I must either tread just on in his footsteps, or else I shall be in a perpetual maze, and never know when I come to my journey's end.

And here I cannot altogether escape the mentioning of J. O. again, whom (though I have shown that he was not the main cause of publishing Bayes his books) yet he singles out, and on his pretence runs down all the nonconformists; this being, as he imagined, the safest way by which he might proceed first to undermine, and then blow up his Majesty's gracious declaration. And this indeed is the least immethodical part in the whole discourse. For first he undertakes to defend that railing is not only lawful, but expedient. Secondly, that though he had railed, the person he spoke of ought not to have taken notice of it. And thirdly, that he did not rail. As to these things I do not much trouble myself, nor
interest

interest myself in the least in J. O's quarrel; no otherwise than if he were John a Nokes, and I heard him railed at by John a Stiles. Nor yet would I concern myself unnecessarily in any man's behalf; knowing that it is better being at the beginning of a feast, than to come in at the latter end of a fray. For if so I should, as often it happens in such encounters, not only draw Mr. Bayes, but J. O. too, upon my back, I should have made a sweet business on't for myself.

Now as to the lawfulness and expedience of railing; were it not that I do really make conscience of using Scripture with such a drolling companion as Mr. Bayes, I could overload him thence both with authority and example. Nor is it worth ones while to teach him out of other authors, and the best precedents of the kind, how he, being a Christian and a Divine, ought to have carried himself. But I cannot but remark his insolence, and how bold he makes upon this argument, p. 88. of his second book, with the memories of those great persons there enumerated, several of whom, and particularly my Lord Verulam, I could quote to his confusion, upon a contrary and much better account. “ So far
 “ am I from repenting my severity towards them, that I am
 “ tempted rather to applaud it by the glorious examples of
 “ the greatest wits of our nation, King James, Archbishop
 “ Whitgift, Archbishop Bancroft, Bishop Andrews, Bishop
 “ Bilson,

“ Bilson, Bishop Montague, Bishop Bramhall, Sir Walter Rawleigh, Lord Bacon, &c.” and he might have added Mr. Tarlton, with as good pretence to this honour as himself. The niches are yet empty in the Old Exchange; pray let us speak to the statuary, that, next to King James’s, we may have Bayes his effigies; for such great wits are princes fellows, at least when dead. At this rate there is not a scold at Billingsgate but may defend herself by the pattern of King James and Archbishop Whitgift, &c. yet this is passable, if you consider our man. But that is most intolerable, page 17. of the preface to his first book, where he justifies his debauched way of writing by parallel to our Blessed Saviour. And I cannot but with some awe reflect how near the punishment was to the offence; when, having undertaken so profane an argument, he was in the very instant so infatuated as to say that Christ was not only “ in an hot fit of zeal, but in a seeming fury too, and transport of passion.” But however, seeing he hath brought us so good vouchers, let us suppose what is not to be supposed, that railing is lawful. Whether it be expedient or no, will yet be a new question. And I think Mr. Bayes, when he hath had time “ to cool his thoughts,” may be trusted yet with that consideration, and to compute whether the good that he hath done by railing do countervail the damage which both he in particular, and the cause he labours, have suffered by it. For in my observation, if we meet with an
argument

argument in the streets, both men, women, and boys, that are the auditory, do usually give it on the modest side, and conclude, that he that rails most has the least reason.

For the second: where he would prove that though he had railed, yet his answerer, J. O. ought not to have taken notice of it, nor those of the party who are under the same condemnation; but that he should have abstracted and kept close to the argument; I must confess it is a very secure and wholesome way of railing. And allowing this, he hath good reason to find fault with his answerer, as he does, for turning over his book; though without turning it over, I know not how he could have answered him, but with his hat, or with mum. But for ought I can see in that only answer which is to his first book, he hath been obedient, and abstracted the argument sufficiently; and if he hath been any where severe upon him, he hath done it more cleanly, and much more like a gentleman; and it hath been only in showing the necessary inferences that must follow upon the author's maxims and unsound principles. But as to any answer to Bayes his second book or his third, for ought I can see, J. O. sleeps upon both ears.

To this third undertaking, to shew that he hath not railed; I shall not say any thing more, but let it be judged by the company, and to them let it be referred. But in

my poor opinion, I never saw a man throw all his three books in so high a falivation.

And therefore, till I meet with something more serious, I will take a walk in the garden and gather some of Mr. Bayes his flowers; or I might more properly have said, I will go see Bedlam, and pick straws with our mad-man. First he saith, that some that pretend a great interest in the holy brotherhood, upon every slight accident are beating up the drums against the Pope and Popish plots; they descry Popery in every common and usual chance; and a chimney cannot take fire in the city or suburbs, but they are immediately crying Jesuites and Fireballs. I understand you, sir. This, Mr. Bayes, is your prologue, that is to be spoke by Thunder and Lightning: "I am loud Thunder; brisk Lightning I. I strike men down. I fire the town—Look to't. "We'll do't." Mr. Bayes, it is something dangerous meddling with those matters. As innocent persons as yourself have felt the fury of the wild multitude, when such a calamity hath disordered them; and after your late severity against tradesmen, it had been better you had not touched the fire. Take heed lest the reasons which sparkle, forsooth, in your discourse, have not set their chimnies on fire. None accuses you, what you make sport with, of burning the ships at Chatham, much less of blowing up the Thames. But you ought to be careful, lest having so newly distinguished

betwixt the fanatick and his wealth, they should say, that you are distinguishing now betwixt the fanaticks and their houses. These things are too edged to be jested with ; if you did but consider, that not onely the holy brotherhood, but the sober and intelligent citizens, are equally involved in these sad accidents. And in that lamentable conflagration (which was so terrible, that though so many years agoe, it is yet fresh in men's memories ; and besides, is yearly, by Act of Parliament, observed with due humiliation and solemnity.) It was not trade onely and merchandise suffered, which you call their Diana, and was not so much to be considered ; but St. Paul's too was burnt, which the historians tell us, was Diana's temple.

The next thing is more directly levelled at J. O. for having in some latter book used those words, " We cannot conform " to Arminianism or Socinianism on the one hand, or Popery " on the other." What the answerer meant by those words, I concern not myself ; onely I cannot but say, that there is a very great neglect somewhere, wheresoever the inspection of books is lodged, that at least the Socinian books are tolerated, and sell as openly as the Bible. But Bayes turns all into mirth : " He might as well have added all the -isms in " the Old Testament, Perizzitism, Hittitism, Jebusitism, " Hivitism, &c."

No,

No, Mr. Bayes, that need not ; and though this indeed is a very pretty conceit, and 'twere pity it should have been lost ; yet I can tell you a better way. For, if rhyming be the business, and you are so good at “ tagging of points in a “ garret,” there is another word that will do it better, and for which, I know not how truly, you tax your answerer too here, as if he said, “ The church of England were desperately schismatical, because the Independents are resolved, “ one and all, to continue separate from her communion.” Therefore let schism, if you please, rhyme to -ism. And though no man is obliged to produce the authority of the greatest wits of the nation to justify a rhyme, yet for your dear sake, Mr. Bayes, I will this once supererogate. The first shall be your good friend Bishop Bramhall ; who among many other memorable passages, which I believe were the reason that he never thought fit to print his own book ; page 101. teacheth us, not absurdly, that “ it was not the “ erroneous opinions of the church of Rome, but the ob- “ truding them by laws upon other churches, which war- “ ranted a separation.” But if this will not doe, *vous avez* Dr. Thorndike’s deposition in print ; for he, I hear, is lately dead. “ The church of England in separating from the “ church of Rome, is guilty of schism before God.” I have not the book by me, but I am sure ’tis candidly recited as I have read it. Then (to show too that there is a King on this side) his present Majesty’s father in his declaration,

4to *Caroli*, 1628, affirms that a book, entituled, “ *Appello*
 “ *Cæsarem*, or, An Appeal to Cæsar, and published in
 “ the year 1625, by Richard Montague, then Bachelor
 “ of Divinity, and now Bishop of Chichester, had opened
 “ the way to these schisms and divisions which have
 “ since ensued in the church; and that therefore for the
 “ redress and remedy thereof, and for the satisfaction of the
 “ consciences of his good people, he had not only by pub-
 “ lick proclamation called in that book, which ministred
 “ matter of offence, but to prevent the like danger for the
 “ future, reprinted the Articles of Religion, established
 “ in the time of Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory: and
 “ by a declaration, before those articles, did restrain all
 “ opinions to the sense of those articles, that nothing might
 “ be left for private fancies and innovations, &c.” And if
 this will not amount fully, I shall conclude with a villainous
 pamphlet that I met with t’other day; but of which a great
 wit indeed was the author. And, whereas Mr. Bayes is
 always defying the nonconformists with Mr. Hooker’s Eccle-
 siastical Polity, and the Friendly Debate, I am of opinion,
 though I have a great reverence for Mr. Hooker, who in
 some things did answer himself, that this little book, of not
 full eight leaves, hath shut that Ecclesiastical Polity, and
 Mr. Bayes’s too, out of doors: but for the Friendly Debate,
 I must confess, that is unanswerable. ’Tis one Mr. Hales,
 of Eaton; a most learned divine, and one of the church of
 England,

England, and most remarkable for his sufferings in the late times, and his christian patience under them. And I reckon it not one of the least ignominies of that age, that so eminent a person should have been by the iniquity of the times reduced to those necessities under which he lived; as I account it no small honour to have grown up into some part of his acquaintance, and conversed a while with the living remains of one of the clearest heads and best prepared breasts in Christendom. That which I speak of is his little treatise of schism, which though I had read many years ago, was quite out of my mind, till I occasionally light upon't at a bookfellers stall. I hope it will not be tedious, though I write of some few (and yet whatsoever I omit I shall have left behind more) material passages. “Schism
 “is one of those theological scarecrows with which they
 “who use to uphold a party in religion, use to fright away
 “such as making enquiry into it, are ready to relinquish and
 “oppose it, if it appear either erroneous or suspicious.
 “Schism is, if we would define it, an unnecessary separation
 “of Christians from that part of the visible church of which
 “they were once members. Some reverencing antiquity
 “more than needs, have suffered themselves to be scared
 “with imputation of schism more than needs. Nothing
 “absolves men from the guilt of schism, but true and un-
 “pretended conscience. But the judgements of the ancients
 “many times (to speak most gently) are justly to be suspected.

“Where

“ Where the cause of schism is necessary, there not he
 “ that separates, but he that is the cause of separation, is
 “ the schismatick. Where the occasion of separation is un-
 “ necessary, neither side can be excused from guilt of schism.
 “ But who shall be the judge? That is a point of great dif-
 “ ficulty, because it carries fire in the tail of it; for it
 “ brings with it a piece of doctrine which is seldom pleasing
 “ to superiours. You shall find that all schisms have crept
 “ into the church by one of these three waies, either upon
 “ matter of fact, or upon matter of opinion, or point of
 “ ambition. For the first, I call that matter of fact, when
 “ something is required to be done by us, which either we
 “ know or strongly suspect to be unlawful.” Where he in-
 stances in the old great controverſie about Easter. “ For it
 “ being upon error taken for necessary that an Easter must
 “ be kept, and upon worse than error (for it was no less
 “ than a point of Judaism forced upon the church) thought
 “ further necessary that the ground of the time for the feast
 “ must be the rule left by Moses to the Jews: there arose
 “ a stout question, whether it was to be celebrated with the
 “ Jews on the fourteenth Moon, or the Sunday following.
 “ This caused as great a combustion as ever was; the West
 “ separating and refusing communion with the East for many
 “ years together. Here I cannot see but all the world were
 “ schismaticks, excepting only that we charitably suppose
 “ to excuse them from it, that all parties did what they did
 “ out

“ out of conscience. A thing which befell them by the
 “ ignorance, for I will not say the malice of their guides ;
 “ and that through the just judgment of God, because,
 “ through sloth and blind obedience, men examined not the
 “ things they were taught, but like beasts of burthen
 “ patiently couched down, and indifferently underwent all
 “ whatsoever their superiours laid upon them. If the dis-
 “ cretion of the chiefeſt guides of the church did, in a
 “ point ſo trivial, ſo inconfiderable, ſo mainly fail them ;
 “ can we, without the imputation of great groſſneſs and
 “ folly, think ſo poor-ſpirited perſons competent judges of
 “ the queſtions now on foot betwixt the churches ? where
 “ or among whom, or how many the church ſhall be, it is a
 “ thing indifferent. What if thoſe to whom the execu-
 “ tion of the publick ſervice is committed, do ſomething,
 “ either unſeemingly or ſuſpicious, or peradventure unlaw-
 “ ful ; what if the garments they wear be cenſured, nay,
 “ indeed be ſuſpicious ; what if the geſture or adoration to
 “ be uſed to the altars, as now we have learned to ſpeak ;
 “ what if the homiliſt have preached or delivered any
 “ doctrine, of the truth of which we are not well per-
 “ ſuaded, (a thing which very often falls out) yet, for all
 “ this, we may not ſeparate, except we be conſtrained per-
 “ ſonally to bear a part in it ourſelves. Nothing can be a
 “ juſt cauſe of reſuſing communion in ſchiſm that concerns
 “ fact, but only to require the execution of ſome unlawful

“ or suspected act. For, not only in reason, but in religion
 “ too, that maxim admits of no release, *Cautissimi cujusque*
 “ *præceptum, quod dubitas ne feceris*: That whatsoever
 “ you doubt of, that you in no case do.” He instances then
 in the second Council of Nice, where, faith he, “ the Synod
 “ itself was the schismatical party in the point of using the
 “ images, which, faith he, all acknowledge unnecessary,
 “ most do suspect, and many hold utterly unlawful: Can
 “ then the injoining of such a thing be ought else but
 “ an abuse? Can the refusal of communion here be thought
 “ any other thing than duty? Here, or upon the like
 “ occasion to separate, may peradventure bring personal
 “ trouble or danger, against which it concerns any honest
 “ man to have *pectus præparatum*. Then of schism from
 “ opinion; prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of
 “ scripture, administration of sacraments in the plainest
 “ and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish
 “ out a sufficient liturgy, though nothing either of pri-
 “ vate opinion or of church pomp, of garments, of
 “ prescribed gestures, of imagery, of musick, of matter
 “ concerning the dead, of many superfluities which creep
 “ into the church under the name of order and decency,
 “ did interpose itself. To charge churches and liturgies
 “ with things unnecessary, was the first beginning of super-
 “ stition. If the fathers and special guides of the church
 “ would be a little sparing in incumbring churches with
 “ superfluities,

“superfluities, or not over rigid either in reviving obsolete
 “customs, or imposing new, there would be far less cause
 “of schism or superstition; and all the inconvenience
 “likely to ensue, would be but this, they should in so do-
 “ing yield a little to the imbecillity of their inferiours; a
 “thing which Saint Paul would never have refused to do. It
 “is alike unlawful to make profession of known or suspected
 “falshood, as to put in practise unlawful or suspected
 “actions. The third thing I named for matter of schism
 “was ambition, I mean episcopal ambition; one head of
 “which, is one bishop’s claiming supremacy over another,
 “which, as it hath been from time to time a great trespass
 “against the church’s peace, so it is now the final ruin of
 “it. For they do but abuse themselves and others, who
 “would perswade us that Bishops by Christ’s institution have
 “any superiority over other men further than positive order
 “agreed upon among Christians hath prescribed. Time
 “hath taken leave, sometimes, to fix this name of CON-
 “VENTICLES upon good and honest meetings. Though
 “open assemblies are required, yet, at all times while men
 “are really pious, all meetings of men for mutual help of
 “piety and devotion, wheresoever, and by whomsoever,
 “celebrated, were permitted without exception. In times
 “of manifest corruption and persecution, wherein religious
 “assembling is dangerous, private meetings, howsoever be-
 “fides publick order, are not onely lawful, but they are of

“ necessity and duty. All pious assemblies, in times of
 “ persecution and corruption, howsoever practised, are indeed,
 “ or rather alone, the lawful congregations : and publick
 “ assemblies, though according to form of law, are, indeed,
 “ nothing else but RIOTS and CONVENTICLES, if they be
 “ stained with corruption and superstition.” Do you not see
 now, Mr. Bayes, that you needed not have gone so far for
 a word, when you might have had it in the neighbourhood ?
 If there be any coherence left in your scull, you cannot
 but perceive that I brought you authority enough to prove
 that *schism* (for the reason we may discourse another time)
 do’s at least rhyme to *ism*. But you have a peculiar delight
 and felicity (which no man envies you) in Scripture drollery ;
 nothing less will taste to your palate, whereas otherwise you
 have travelled so far in Italy, that you could not escape the
 titles of some books which would have served your turn as
 well, *cardinalism*, *nepotism*, *putanism*, if you were in a
 paroxysm of the *ism*’s.

When I had writ this, and undergone so grateful a
 penance for no less than that I had transcribed before out of
 our author ; I could not, upon comparing them both toge-
 ther, but reflect most seriously upon the difference of their
 two ways of discoursing. I could not but admire that
 majesty and beauty which sits upon the forehead of mas-
 culine truth and generous honesty : but no less detest the
 deformity

deformity of falshood disguised in all its ornaments. How much another thing it is to hear him speak, that hath cleared himself from froth and growns, and who suffers neither sloth nor fear, nor ambition, nor any other tempting spirit of that nature to abuse him, from one, who, as Mr. Hales expresseth it, makes Christianity lacquey to ambition! how wretchedly the one, to uphold his fiction, must incite princes to persecution and tyranny, degrade grace to morality, debauch conscience against its own principles, distort and mis-interpret the Scripture, fill the world with blood, execution, and massacre; while the other needs and requires no more but a peaceable and unprejudicate soul, and the native simplicity of a christian spirit! and methinks, if our author had any spark of virtue unextinguished, he should, upon considering these together, retire into his closet, and there lament and pine away for his desperate follie: for the disgrace he hath, as far as in him is, brought upon the Church of England by such an undertaking, and for the eternal shame to which he has hereby condemned his own memory.

I ask you heartily pardon, Mr. Bayes, for treating you against decorum here, with so much gravity. 'Tis possible I may not trouble you above once or twice more in the like nature; but so often at least, I hope, one may, in the writing of a whole book, have leave to be serious. Your

next flower, and that indeed is a sweet one, "Dear heart, how could I hug and kiss thee for all this love and sweetness?" Fy, fy, Mr. Bayes, is this the language of a divine, and to be used, as you sometimes express it, in the face of the sun? Who can escape from thinking that you are adreamed of your Comfortable Importance? These are (as the moral satyrists call them in the cleanliest manner the thing would bear) "words left betwixt the sheets:" Somebody might take it ill that you should misapply your courtship to an enemy. But in the Roman empire it was the privilege of the hangman to deflower a virgin before execution. But, sweet Mr. Bayes (for I know you do nothing without a precedent of some of the greatest wits of the nation,) whose example had you for this seeming transport of a gentler passion?

Then comes "Well fare poor Macedo for a modest fool." This I know is matter of Gazette, which is as canonical as Ecclesiastical Policy. Therefore I have the less to say to't. Onely, I could wish that there were some severer laws against such villains who raise so false and scandalous reports of worthy gentlemen; and that men might not be suffered to walk the streets in so confident a garb, who commit those assassinations upon the reputation of deserving persons.

Here follows a fore charge: that the answerer had
 "without any provocation, in a publick and solemn way,
 " under-

“undertaken the defence of the fanatick cause.” Here indeed, Mr. Bayes, you have reason, and you might have had as just a quarrel against whosoever had undertaken it. For, your design and hope was from the beginning, that no man would have answered you in a publick and solemn way ; and nothing would vex a wise man, as you are, more than to have his intention and counsel frustrated. When you have ranged all your forces in battel, when you have placed your cannon, when you have sounded a charge, and given the word to fall upon the whole party ; if you could then persuade every particular person of them, that you gave him no provocation, I confess, Mr. Bayes, this were an excellent and a new way of your inventing, to conquer single, (’tis your moral virtue) whole armies. And so the admiring drove might stand gaping, till, one by one, you had cut all their throats. But, Mr. Bayes, I cannot discern but that you gave him as much provocation in your first book, as he has you in his Evangelical Love, Church Peace and Unity, which is the pretence of your issuing this preface.

For, having for your dear sake (beside many other troubles that I have undertaken, without your giving me any provocation) fought out and perused that book too, I do not find you any where personally concerned, but as you have, it seems upon some conviction, assumed to yourself some vices or errors against which he speaks in general,
and

and with some modesty. But for the rest, you say upon full perusal, “you find not one syllable to the purpose beside
 “a perpetual repetition of the old out worn story of un-
 “scriptural ceremonies, and some frequent whinings, and
 “sometimes ravings, &c.” Now to see the dulness of some mens capacities above others. I, upon this occasion, begun, I know not how it came, at page 127. and thence read on to the end of his book. And from thence I turned to the beginning and continued to page 127. and could not, all along, observe any thing but what was very pertinent to the matter in hand. But this is your way of excusing yourself from replying to things that yet you will be meddling with, and nibbling at : and ’tis besides a pretty knack (the nonconformists have it not alone) of frightening or discouraging sober people from reading those dangerous treatises, which might contribute to their better information. I cannot but observe, Mr. Bayes, this admirable way (like fat Sir John Falstaff’s singular dexterity in sinking) that you have of answering whole books or discourses, how pithy and knotty soever, in a line or two, nay sometimes with a word. So it fares with this book of the answerer’s. So with a book or discourse of his, I know not, of the morality of the Lord’s Day ; which is answered by a Septenary Portion in the Hebdomadal Revolution. So, whether book or discourse I also know not of the self-evidencing light of the Scripture, where Bayes offers (and it seems
 strange)

strange) to produce as good proofs for it out of the Alcoran. So I showed you where he answers demonstration with the lye. And one thing more comes into my mind; where, after he has blundered a great while to bring himself off the magistrate's exercising the priesthood in his own person, he concludes with an irresistible defence against his answerer: "this is fuitable to the genius of his ingenuity, and be-
 "traies him as much as the word INTANGLEMENT, which
 "is the Shiboleth of all his writings." So he defeats all the gross bodies of orthodoxy with calling them systemes and syntagmes. So you know he answers all the controversial books of the Calvinists that ever have been written, with the tale of Robin Hood, and the "mighty bramble
 "on the south side of the lake Leman." Mr. Bayes, you cannot enough esteem and cherish this faculty. For, next to your single beating whole armies, I do not know any virtue that you have need of so often, or that will upon trial be found more useful.

And to this succeeds another flower, I am sure, though I can scarce smell out the sense of it. But it is printed in a distinct character, and that is always a certain sign of a flower. For our book-sellers have many arts to make us yield to their importunity: and among the rest, they promise us, that it shall be printed on fine paper, and in a very large and fair letter; that it shall be very well examined that

there be no errata ; that wheresoever there is a pretty conceit, it shall be marked out in another character. But my greatest care was that when I quoted any sentence or word of our author's, it might be so discernable, lest I should go for a plagiarist. And I am much offended to see that in several places he hath not kept touch with me. The word of Mr. Bayes's that he has here made notorious, is *categoricalness*: and I observe that wheresoever there comes a word of that termination he shows it the same honour ; as if he had a mind to make Bayes a collar of *nesses*. What the mystery is, I cannot so easily imagine ; no more than of *shibboleth* and *intanglement*. But I doubt Mr. Bayes is sick of many complicated diseases ; or to keep to our rhyme, *sicknesses*. He is troubled not only with the *isines* but the *nesses*. He might, if he had pleased, here too to have showed his wit, as he did in the others, and have told us of Sheerness, Dongioness, Innerness, and Cathness. But he might very well have omitted it in this place, knowing how well he had acquitted himself in another, and out of the Scripture too, which gives his wit the highest relish. 'Tis page 72 of his first book, where, to prove that the fruits of the Spirit are no more than morality, he quotes Saint Paul, Gal. 5. 22. where the Apostle enumerates them ; " love, joy, peace, patience, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance:" but our author translates *joy* to *cheerfulness*, *peace* to *peaceableness*, *faith* to

to *faithfulness*. What ignorance, or rather, what forgery is this of Scripture and Religion? Who is there of the systematical German, Geneva, orthodox Divines, but could have taught him better? who is there of the sober, intelligent, Episcopal Divines of the Church of England, but would abhor this interpretation? yet, when his answerer, I see, objects this to him, page 200. Bayes, like a dextrous scholastical disputant, it being told him, that joy is not cheerfulness, but that “spiritual joy which is unspeakable;” that peace is not peaceableness in his sense, but “that peace of God which through Jesus Christ is wrought in the hearts of believers by the Holy Ghost;” and that faith in God is there intended, not faithfulness in our duties, trusts or offices: what does he do? Page 337. he very ingenuously and wisely, when he is to answer, quite forgets that faith was once named: and, having suppressed that, as to the rest he wipes his mouth, and rubs his forehead, and saith the “cavil is but a little one, and the fortune of Cæsar and the Roman Empire depend not upon it, and therefore he will not trouble the reader with a critical account of the reason of his translation.” No, don’t Mr. Bayes. ’Tis very well, let it alone. But, though not the fortunes of Cæsar and the Roman Empire, I doubt there is something more depends upon it, if it be matter of salvation. And I am afraid besides, that there may a curse too belong to him who shall knowingly add or diminish in the Scripture.

Do you think Bishop Bramhall himself, if he had seen this, could have abstained (page 117 before quoted,) from telling our author, “ That the promiscuous licence given to people
 “ qualified or unqualified, not only to read but to interpret
 “ the Scriptures according to their private spirits or parti-
 “ cular fancies, without regard either to the analogy of faith,
 “ which they understand not, or to the interpretation of
 “ the doctors of former ages, is more prejudicial (I might
 “ better say) pernicious both to whole societies, than the
 “ over rigorous restraints of the Romanists.”

The next is a piece of mirth, on occasion of some discourse of the answerer's, about the morality of the Lord's-day : where it seems he useth some hard words, which I am naturally an enemy to ; but might be done of purpose to keep the controversy from the white aprons, within the white surplices, to be more learnedly debated. But this fares no better than all the rest. There is no kind of morality, I see, but Bayes will try to debauch it : “ Oh what
 “ edifying doctrine, faith he, is this to the white-aprons !
 “ and doubtless they would, with the Jews, sooner roast
 “ themselves, than a small joint of mutton upon the sacred
 “ day of rest.” Now I do not, neither, I believe, does Bayes himself know any of them that are thus superstitious. So that Mr. Bayes might, if he had pleased, have spared his gibing at that day, which hath more sacredness in it by

far than many, nay than any of those things he pleads for. But when men are once *adepti* and have attained Bayes his height, and “divinity” at least is “rightly understood,” they have a privilege, it seems, not only to play and make merry on the Sabbath day, but with it.

After this I walked a great way through bushes and brambles before I could find another flower: but then I met with two upon one stalk; on occasion of his answerer’s having said something of the day of judgement when men should be accountable. “Oh,” saith he, “we shall be sure
 “to be accounted with at the day of judgement;” and again, “Ah sweet day! when these people of God shall
 “once for all, to their unspeakable comfort and support,
 “wreak their eternal revenge upon their reprobate enemies.” This puts me in mind of another expression of our author’s alluding too this way. “’Tis an easie matter by this dancing and capering humour to perpetuate all the controversies in the world, how plainly soever determinable, to
 “the coming of Elias: and after this rate shall the barber’s bason remain Mambrino’s helmet; and the ass’s
 “panel a furniture for the great horse, till the day of judgement.” Now, good Mr. Bayes, I am one that desire to be very well resolved in these things; and though not much indeed, yet I attribute something to your judgement. Pray tell us in good earnest, what you think

of these things, that we may know how to take our measure of living accordingly. For, if indeed there be no judgement, no account for what is done here below, I have lost a great deal of precious time, that I might have enjoyed in one of the fruits of your spirit, that is *cheerfulness*. How many good jests have I balked, even in writing this book, lest I should be brought to answer for every profane and idle word ! how frequent opportunities have I mist in my life of geniality and pleasure, and fulfilling nature in all its ends ! how have you frightened the magistrate in vain, from exercising his uncontrollable ecclesiastical power, with the fear of an after-reckoning to God Almighty ! and how have you, page 238, defeated the obligatory force of all his laws, and set his subjects at liberty from all obligations to the duty of obedience ! for they lie under no obligation, you say then, but of prudence and self-interest. But unless there hath been some error in our education, and we have been seasoned with ill books at first, so that we can never lose the impression, there is some such matter, and the governor had reason, when he trembled to hear Saint Paul discoursing of that subject. The fanatical book of martyrs (for we will not with some call the Bible so) tells us some old stories of persons that have been cited by some of them to appear at such a day, and that by dying at the same prefixed, they have saved their reconnoissances. And
in

in the Scotch history we read of a great cardinal that was so summoned by poor Mr. Guichard, and yet could not help it, but he must take that long and sad journey of death to answer at the grand assizes. If therefore there be such a thing, I would not for fear, and if there be not, yet I would not for good luck sake, set that terrible day at defiance, or make too merry with it. 'Tis possible that the nonconformists many of them may be too censorious of others, and too confident of their own integrity. Others of them are more temperate, and perhaps destitute of all humane redress against their sufferings: some of those make rash challenges, and the other just appeals to appear at that dreadful tribunal. In the mean time, 'tis not for you to be both the enemy and their judge. Much less does it befit you, because perhaps they speak too fillily or demurely of it, or too braveing and confidently, therefore to make a mere mockery of the whole business of that supreme judge and judicature. And one thing I will say more, though flighter; that, though I am not so far gone as Campanella was in the efficacy of words, and the magick of the face, and pronunciation, yet I marked how your answerer look'd when he spoke of the day of judgement. Very gravely, I assure you, and yet without any depressing or exalting his superciliums: and I have most often observed that serious words have produced serious effects.

I have

I have, by this time methinks, gather'd enough: nor are there many more left, unless I should go for a flower to the dunghill, which, he saith, "is his 'only' magazine." And this being an expression which he has several times used (for no nonconformist repeats so often) I cannot but remark, that besides his natural talent, Mr. Bayes hath been very industrious, and neglected no opportunity of acquiring a perfection of railing. For this is a phrase borrowed from a modern author lately dead, and I suppose Bayes had given him a bond for repayment at the day that he spoke of so lately.

There are indeed several others at which I am forced to stop my nose. For by the smell, any man may discern they grew upon a ranker soil than that on the south-side of the Lake Lemane, even upon the the bank of the Thames in the meadow of Billingsgate: as that of the lye, which, he saith, no gentleman, much less a divine, ought to put up. Now if this were to be tryed by a court martial of the brothers of the blade, 'tis to be considered whether it were the down-right lye, or whether it were only the lye by interpretation. For in the disputes of the schools there is nothing more usual than *hoc est verum, hoc est falsum*. But this passes without any blemish of honour on either side, and so far it is from any obligation to a challenge or a duel, that it never comes to be decided, so much as by the study
door

door key. But *quod restat probandum* does the business without demanding other satisfaction. Then, if it were the down-right lye, it is to be examined who gave the lye first: for that alters the case. And last of all (but which is indeed upon a quarrel the least material point, yet, too, it comes under some consideration) which of the two was in the right, and which of them spoke truth, and which lyed. These are all things to be discussed in their proper places. For I do not observe that the answerer gave Bayes the down-right lye. But I find that Bayes gave him the lye first in terms. And as to the truth of the things controverted and alledged, there needs no more than the depositions that I formerly transcribed concerning Bayes his own words. But all this is only a scene out of Bayes his rehearsal.

*Villain, thou liest,——
——Arm, arm, Valerio arm,
The lie no flesh can bear I throw.*

And then as to the success of the combate,

*——They fly, they fly
Who first did give the lie.*

For that of caitife, and other provocations that are proper for the same court, I will not meddle further. And for the being *past grace and so past mercy*; I shall only observe
that

that the church of England is much obliged to Mr. Bayes, for having proved that nonconformity is the sin against the Holy Ghost.

There remains but one flower more that I have a mind to. But that indeed is a rapper. 'Tis a flower of the fun, and might alone serve both for a staff and a nosegay for any nobleman's porter. "Symbolicalness is the very
 " essence of paganism, superstition, and idolatry. They will
 " and ought sooner to broil in Smithfield, than submit to
 " such abominations of the strumpet and the beast. 'Tis
 " the very potion wherewith the scarlet whore made drunk
 " the kings of the earth. Heliogabalus and Bishop Bonner
 " loved it like clary and eggs, and always made it their
 " morning's-draught upon burning days; and it is not to be
 " doubted but the seven vials of wrath that were to be poured
 " out upon the nations of the earth under the reign of
 " Antichrist, were filled with symbolical extracts and spirits:" with more such stuff which I omit. This I confess a pretty posy for the nose of such a divine. Doctor Baily's romance of the Wall-flower had nothing comparable to't. And I question, whether, as well as Mr. Bayes loves preferment, yet though he had lived in the primitive church, he would not, as Heliodorus Bishop of Triffa, I take it, that renounced his bishoprick rather than his title to the History of Theagenes and Chariclia, have done in like manner: nay,
 and

and have delivered up his Bible too into the bargain, before he would quit the honour of so excellent a piece of drollery. This is surely the bill of fare, not at the Ordination-dinner at the Nag's-head, but of the Excusation-dinner at the Cock; and never did divine make so good cheer of Owen's Peas-porridge and Scripture. Good Mr. Bayes, or Mr. Thunder, or Mr. Cartwright (not the nonconformist Cartwright that was you say (as some others too of your acquaintance) converted: but the Player in the Rehearsal) this Divinity I doubt was the Bacchus of your thigh, and not the Pallas of your brain.

Here it is that after so great an excess of wit, he thinks fit to take a julep and resettle his brain, and the government. He grows as serious as 'tis possible for a madman, and pretends to sum up the whole state of the controversy with the nonconformists. And to be sure he will make the story as plausible for himself as he may: but therefore it was that I have before so particularly quoted and bound him up with his own words as fast as such a Proteus could be pinioned. For he is as waxen as the first matter, and no form comes amiss to him. Every change of posture does either alter his opinion or vary the expression by which we should judge of it: and sitting he is of one mind, and standing of another. Therefore I take myself the less concerned to fight with a windmill like Quixote; or to whip a gig as boys do, or with

the lacqueys at Charing-Cross or Lincolns-Inn-Fields to play at the Wheel of Fortune, lest I should fall into the hands of my Lord Chief Justice, or Sir Edmond Godfroy. The truth is in short, and let Bayes make more or less of it if he can ; Bayes had at first built up such a stupendous magistrate, as never was of God's making. He had put all princes upon the rack to stretch them to his dimension. And, as a straight line continued grows a circle, he had given them so infinite a power, that it was extended unto impotency. For though he found it not, till it was too late in the cause ; yet he felt it all along (which is the understanding of brutes) in the effect. For, hence it is that he so often complains, that princes knew not aright that supremacy over consciences, to which they were so lately, since their deserting the church of Rome, restored. That in most nations government was not rightly understood, and many expressions of that nature : Whereas indeed the matter is, that princes have always found that uncontrollable government over CONSCIENCE to be both unsafe and unpracticable. He had run himself here to a stand, and perceived that there was a God, there was Scripture ; the magistrate himself had a conscience, and must " take care that he did not injoin things apparently evil." Being at a stop here, he would therefore try how he could play the broker on the subjects side : and no pimp did ever enter into seriouser disputation to vitiate an innocent virgin, than he to debauch their consciences. And to harden their

5

unpractised

unpractised modesty, he imboldens them by his own example, shewing them the experiment upon his own conscience first. But after all, he finds himself again at the same stand here, and is run up to the wall by an angel : God, and Scripture, and conscience will not let him go further : but he owns, that if the magistrate enjoins things apparently evil, the subject may have liberty to remonstrate. What shall he do then ? for it is too glorious an enterprize to be abandoned at the first rebuffe. Why, he gives us a new translation of the Bible, and a new commentary. He saith, that tenderneſs of conscience might be allowed in a church to be constituted, not in a church constituted already. That tenderneſs of conscience and scandal are ignorance, pride and obſtinacy. He ſaith, the nonconformiſts ſhould communicate with him till they have clear evidence that it is evil. This is a civil way indeed of gaining the queſtion, to perſwade men that are unſatisfied, to be ſatisfied till they be diſſatisfied. He threatens, he rails, he jeers them, if it were poſſible, out of all their consciences and honeſty ; and finding that will not do, he calls out the magiſtrate, tells him, theſe men are not fit to live, there can be no ſecurity of government while they are in being : bring out the pillories, whipping-poſts, galleys, rods and axes, (which are *ratio ultima cleri*, a clergyman's laſt argument, ay, and his firſt too :) and pull in pieces all the trading corporations, thoſe neſts of faction and ſedition.

This is a faithful account of the sum and intention of all his undertaking, for which I confess, he was as picked a man as could have been employed or found out in a whole kingdom : but it is so much too hard a task for any man to atchieve, that no goose but would grow giddy with it.

For whereas he reduces the whole controverſie to a matter of two or three ſymbolical ceremonies (and if there be nothing elſe, more the ſhame of thoſe that keep ſuch a pudder) it is very well worth obſerving how he hath behaved himſelf, and how come off in this diſpute. It ſeems that the conformiſts define a ſacrament to be an outward viſible ſign of an inward ſpiritual grace. It ſeems the ſacraments are uſually called in the Greek Symbola. It ſeems further that ſome of the nonconformiſts, under the name therefore of ſymbolical ceremonies, diſpute the lawfulness of thoſe that are by our church enjoined, whereby the nonconformiſts can only intend that theſe ceremonies are ſo applyed, as if they were of a ſacramental nature and inſtitution, and that therefore they are unlawful. Our author's anſwerer handling this argument, does among other things make uſe of a pertinent paſſage in Saint Auſtin, *Signa cum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur*. What does Mr. Bayes in this caſe ? for it went hard with him. Why, as good luck would have it, not being willing that ſo great a politician, to the irreparable damage of the church, ſhould yet be deſtroyed, J. O. had forgot
to

to quote the book and page. Now though you fend a man the length of your weapon, and name your second ; yet Mr. Bayes being, as you see often, admirably read in the laws of duelling, knew that unless the time and place be appointed, there is no danger. He saith therefore, page 452 of his second book, that he “ should have advantage on his side, if he should lay odds with him, that “ there is no such passage in all the volumes of Saint Austin.” But however, that it is neither civil nor ingenious to trouble him with such objections, as he cannot answer without reading over eight or ten large volumes in folio. It was too much to expect from one of so much business, good Augustulus :

*Quum tot sustineas & tanta negotia solus ;
Res sacras armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes——*

Which may be thus translated : when you alone have the ceremonies to defend with whipping-posts, rods and axes ; when you have grace to turn into morality ; when you have the act of oblivion and indemnity and the ecclesiastical declaration of March to tear in pieces ; it were unreasonable and too much to the damage of the publick to put you in such an imployment. I ask your pardon, Mr. Bayes, for this paraphrase and digression : for I perceive I am even hardned in my Latine, and am prone to use it without fear or reverence. But, Mr. Bayes, there might have been a
remedy

remedy for this, had you pleased. Where then were all your leaf-turners? a sort of poor readers “you as well as “Bishop Bramhall ought to have some reverence for,” having made so much use of them to gather materials for your structures and superstructures. I cannot be persuaded, for all this, but that he knows it well enough, the passage being so remarkable in itself, and so dirtyed with the non-conformists thumbs, that he could not possibly miss it: and I doubt he does but laugh at me now when, to save him a labour, I tell him in the simplicity of my heart, that even I myself met with it in *Ep. 5ta ad Marcellinum*, and the words these, *Nimis autem longum est convenienter disputare de varietate signorum quæ cum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur*. But whether there be such a place or no, he hath no mind that his answerer should make use of it: nor of the schoolmen, whom before he had owned for the authors of the church of England’s divinity; but would bind up the answerer to the law only and the gospel. And now Mr. Bayes saith he will be of the schoolmens opinion *as long as they speak sense* and no longer, (and so I believe of Saint Austin’s) that is to say, so long as they will serve his turn: for all politicians shake men off when they have no more use of them, or find them to thwart the design. But, Mr. Bayes, why may not your answerer or any man else quote St. Austin, as well as you may the Scriptures? I am sure there is less danger of perverting the place,

or

or of misinterpretation. And though perhaps a nonconformist may value the authority of the Bible above that of the Fathers ; yet the Welch have a proverb, that the Bible and a stone do well together : meaning perhaps, that if one miss the other will hit. You, that are a duellist, know how great a bravery it is to gain your enemy's sword, and that there is no more home-thrust in disputation, than the *Argumentum ad hominem*. So that if your adversary fell upon you with one of your own fathers, it was gallantly done on his part ; and no less wisely on yours to fence in this manner, and use all your shifts to put it by. For you too, Mr. Bayes, do know, no man better, that it is not at all times safe nor honourable to be of a Father's opinion.

Having escaped this danger, he grows, nor can I blame him, exceeding merry ; and insults heavily over *symbolical* wheresoever he meets with it, for in his answerer I find it not. But wheresoever it was it serves to good purpose. For no man would imagine that he could have received so universal a defeat, and appear in so good humour. A terrible disputant he is, when he has set up an hard word to be his opponent ; 'tis a very wholesome thing he knows, and prolongs life : for all the while he can keep up this ball he may decline the question. But the poor word is sure to be mumbled and mowled to purpose, and to be made an example. But let us, with Mr. Bayes his leave, examine the

the thing for once a little cloſer. The nonconformiſts, as I took notice before, do object to ſome of the rites of the church of England, under the name of ſymbolical or ſignificant ceremonies. They obſerve the church of England does, in the diſcourſe of ceremonies printed before the Common Prayer Book, declare that the retaining of thoſe ceremonies, is not onely “as they ſerve for decent order and
 “godly diſcipline; but as they are apt to ſtir up the dull
 “mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God,
 “by ſome ſpecial and notable ſignificancy, whereby he may
 “be edified.” They further obſerve the church of England’s definition of a ſacrament: that it is “an outward viſible ſign of an inward ſpiritual grace.” They find theſe ceremonies, ſo conſtituted, impoſed upon them by authority; and moreover, according to our author’s principle, made a new part of the divine law. They therefore quarrel and except againſt theſe under the notion of ſacraments, and inſiſt that the church is not impowered to inſtitute ſuch ceremonies under ſuch obligations and penalties as they are impoſed. Or, if you will, inſtead of church you may ſay rather the magiſtrate: for as much as our author hath *pro hac vice* delivered the keys and the whole power of the houſe into his hands.

Now the author having got them at this lock, cries victory. Nothing leſs will ſerve him than a three days triumph

triumph, as if he had conquered Europe, Asia, and Africa, and let him have a fourth day added, if he please, over the Terra Incognita of Geneva. There is no end of his ostentation and pageantry : and the dejected nonconformists follow the wheels of his chariot, to be led afterwards to the prison and there executed. He had said page 446 of his second book, “ Here Cartwright begun his objection, and “ here he was immediately checked in his career by Whitgift” (you might, Mr. Author, for respect sake have called him at least Mr. if not Archbishop Whitgift) “ who told him “ plainly, he could not be ignorant that to the making of “ a sacrament, besides the external element, there is required a commandment of God in his word that it “ should be done, and a promise annexed to it, whereof “ the sacrament is a seal.” And in pursuance hereof, page 447, our author saith, “ Here then I fix my foot, and dare “ him to his teeth, to prove that any thing can be capable “ of the nature or office of sacraments that is not established “ by divine institution and upon promise of divine acceptance.” Upon the confidence of this argument ’tis that he Hectors and Achillezes all the nonconformists out of the pit in this preface. This is the sword that was consecrated first upon the altar, and thence presented to the champions of the church in all ages. This is that with which Archbishop Whitgift gave “ Cartwright his death’s wound : and “ laid the puritan reformation a gasping.” This is the wea-

pon wherewith Master Hooker “gained those lasting and
 “eternal trophies over that baffled cause.” This is that with
 which Bishop Bramhall “wrought those wonderful things
 “that exceeded all belief.” This hath been transmitted suc-
 cessively to the writer of the Friendly Debate, and to this
 our author. It is in conclusion the Curtana of our church.
 ’Tis fir Salomon’s sword; cock of as many men as it hath
 been drawn against. Woe worth the man that comes in
 the way of so dead-doing a tool, and when wielded with the
 arm of such a Scanderbeg as our author. The nonconform-
 ists had need desire a truce to bury their dead. Nay, there
 are none left alive to desire it: but they are slain every
 mother’s son of them. Yet perhaps they are but stounded
 and may revive again. For I do not see all this while, that
 any of them have written, as a great Prelate of ours, a book
 of Seven Sacraments; or attempted to prove that those sym-
 bolical ceremonies are indeed sacraments. Nothing less.
 ’Tis that which they most labour against, and they com-
 plain that these things should be imposed on them with so
 high penalty, as want nothing of a sacramental nature but
 divine institution. And because an humane institution is
 herein made an equal force to a divine institution, therefore
 it is that they are aggrieved. All that they mean, or could
 mean, as far as I or any man can perceive; is only that these
 ceremonies are a kind of anti-sacraments, and so obtruded
 upon the church, that without condescending to these ad-
 ditional

ditional inventions, no man is to be admitted to partake of the true sacraments which were of Christ's appointing. For, without the sign of the cross, our church will not receive any one to baptism; as also without kneeling no man is suffered to come to the communion. So that methinks, our author and his partners have wounded themselves only with this argument: and have had as little occasion here to sing their *Te Deum's*, as the Roman Emperour had to triumph over the ocean, because he had gathered periwinkles and scallop shells on the beach. For the author may transform their reasonings as oft as he pleases (even as oft as he doth his own, or the Scriptures:) but this is indeed their fort, out of which I do not see they are likely to be beat with all our author's cannon: that no such new conditions ought to be imposed upon Christians by a less than divine authority, and unto which if they do not submit, though against their consciences, they shall therefore be deprived of communion with the church. And I wonder that our author "could not observe any thing in the discourse of " Evangelical Love, that was to the purpose, beside a perpetual repetition," of the outworn story of unscriptural ceremonies, and a peculiar uncouthness and obscurity of stile; when as this plea is there for so many pages distinctly and vigorously insisted on. For it is a childish thing (how high soever our author magnifies himself in this way of reasoning) either to demand from the nonconformists a pat-

tern of their worship from the Scripture, who affect therein a simplicity, free from all exterior circumstances, but such as are natural or customary : or else to require of them some particular command against the cross, or kneeling, and such like ceremonies, which in the time of the Apostles, and many ages after, were never thought of. But therefore general and applicable rules of Scripture they urge as directions to the conscience ; unto which our author gives no satisfactory solution, but by superseding and extinguishing the conscience, or exposing it to the severest penalties. But here I say then is their main exception ; that things indifferent, and that have no proper signature, or significancy to that purpose, should by command be made necessary conditions of church-communion. I have many times wished, for peaceableness-sake, that they had a greater latitude ; but if, unless they should stretch their consciences till they tear again, they cannot conform, what remedy ? For I must confess that Christians have a better right and title to the church, and to the ordinances of God there, than the author hath to his surplice. And that right is so undoubted and ancient, that it is not to be innovated upon by humane restrictions and capitulations.

Bishop Bramhall, page 141, saith, “ I do profess to all
 “ the world, that the transforming of indifferent opinions
 “ into necessary articles of faith, hath been that *insana*
“ *laurus,*

“ *laurus*, or curfed bay-tree, the caufe of all our brawling
 “ and contention.” That which he faw in matter of doctrine he would not difcern in difcipline ; whereas this among us, the transforming of things, at beft indifferent, into neceffary points of practice, hath been of as ill confequence. And (to reform a little my ferioufnefs) I fhall not let this pafs without taking notice that you, Mr. Bayes, being the moft extravagant perfon in this matter that ever I heard of, as I have fhown you are mad, and fo the *infana laurus*; fo I wifh you may not prove “ that curfed bay-tree too,” as the Bifhop tranflates it. If you had thought of this, perhaps we might have miffed both the Bifhop’s book and your preface ; for you fee that fometimes no man hath a worfe friend than he brings from home.

It is true, and very piously done, that our church does declare that the kneeling at the Lord’s Supper is not enjoined for adoration of thofe elements, and concerning the other ceremonies as before. But the Romanifts (from whom we have them, and who faid of old, we would come to feed on their meat as well as eat of their porridge) do offer us here many a fair declaration, and diftinction in very weighty matters, to which neverthelefs the confcience of our church hath not complied. But in this particular matter of kneeling, which came in firft with the doctrine of tranfubftantiation, the Romifh church do reproach us with flat idolatry.

latry, in that we not believing the real presence in the bread and wine, do yet pay to something or other the same adoration. Suppose the ancient pagans had declared to the primitive Christians, that the offering of some grains of incense was only to perfume the room, or that the delivering up of their Bibles, was but for preserving the book more carefully; do you think the Christians would have palliated so far, and colluded with their consciences? Men are too prone to err on that hand. In the last king's time, some eminent persons of our clergy made an open defection to the church of Rome. One, and he yet certainly a protestant, and that hath deserved well of that cause, writ the book of Seven Sacraments. One in the church at present, though certainly no less a protestant, could not abstain from arguing the Holiness of Lent; Doctor Thorndike, lately dead, left for his epitaph, *Hic jacet corpus Herberti Thorndike Præbendarij hujus Ecclesiæ, qui vivus veram Reformatæ Ecclesiæ rationem & modum precibus studiisque prosequeretur*, and nevertheless he adds, *Tu Lector requiem ei & beatam in Christo resurrectionem precare*. Which thing I do thus sparingly set down, only to shew the danger of inventive piety; and if men come once to add new devices to the Scripture, how easily they slide on into superstition. Therefore, although the church do consider herself so much as not to alter her mode unto the fancy of others, yet I cannot see why she ought to exclude those from communion,

munions, whose weaker consciences cannot for fear of scandal step further. For the nonconformists, as to these declarations of our church against the reverence to the creatures of bread and wine, and concerning the other ceremonies as before, will be ready to think they have as good a plea as that so much commended by our author against the clause, "That whosoever should affirm the Wednesday fast to be imposed with an intention to bind the conscience," should be punished "like the spreaders of false news; which is, saith a learned prelate, plainly to them that understand it, to evacuate the whole law. For all human power being derived from God, and bound upon our consciences by his power, not by man, he that saith it shall not bind the conscience, saith it shall be no law, it shall have no authority from God, and then it hath none at all; and if it be not tyed upon the conscience, then to break it is no sin, and then to keep it is no duty. So that a law without such an intention is a contradiction. It is a law only which binds if we please, and we may obey when we have a mind to it, and to so much we are tyed before the constitution. But then if by such a declaration it was meant, that to keep such fasting days was no part of a direct commandment from God, that is, God had not required them by himself immediately, and so it was abstracting from that law no duty evangelical, it had been below the wisdom of the

" contrivers

“ contrivers of it ; no man pretends it, no man faith it, no
 “ man thinks it, and they might as well have declared that
 “ that law was none of the ten commandments.” Page 59
 of his first book.

So much pains does that learned prelate of his take (whoever he was) to prove a whole parliament of England coxcombs. Now I say that those Ecclesiastical Laws, with such declarations concerning the ceremonies by them enjoined, might, *mutatis mutandis*, be taxed upon the same topick. But I love not that task, and shall rather leave it to Mr. Bayes to paraphrase his learned prelate. For he is very good at correcting the impertinence of laws and lawgivers, and though this work indeed be not for his turn at present, yet it may be for the future. And I have heard a good engineer say, that he never fortified any place so, but that he reserved a feeble point, by which he knew how to take it, if there were occasion.

I know a medicine for Mr. Bayes his hiccough (it is but naming J. O.) but I cannot tell certainly, though I have a shrewd guess, what is the cause of it. For indeed all his arguments are so abrupt and short, that I cannot liken them better, considering too that frequent and perpetual repetition. Such as this, “ Why may not the sovereign power
 “ bestow this privilege upon ceremony, and custom, by
 “ virtue of its prerogative ? What greater immorality is
 there

“ there in them when determined by the command and in-
 “ stitution of the prince, than when by the consent and in-
 “ stitution of the people ?” This the tap-lash of what he
 said, page 100. “ When the civil magistrate takes upon
 “ him to determine any particular forms of outward wor-
 “ ship, ’tis of no worse consequence than if he should go
 “ about to define the signification of all words used in the
 “ worship of God.” And page 108 of his first book. “ So
 “ that all the magistrates power of instituting significant
 “ ceremonies, &c. can be no more usurpation upon the CON-
 “ SCIENCES of men, than if the sovereign authority should
 “ take upon itself, as some princes have done, to define
 “ the signification of words.” And afterwards: “ the same
 “ gesture and actions are indifferently capable of signifying
 “ either honour or contumely ; and so words ; and therefore
 “ ’tis necessary their signification should be determined, &c.”
 ’Tis all very well worth reading. Page 441 of his second
 book. “ ’Tis no other usurpation upon their subjects con-
 “ sciences than if he should take upon him to refine their
 “ language, and determine the proper signification of all
 “ phrases imployed in divine worship, as well as in trades,
 “ arts and sciences.” Page 461 of the same: “ Once we
 “ will so far gratifie the tendernefs of their consciences and
 “ curiosity of their fancies, as to promise never to ascribe any
 “ other significancy to things than what himself is here con-
 “ tent to bestow upon words.” And 462 of the same. “ So

“ that you see, my comparison between the signification of
 “ words and ceremonies stands firm as the pillars of the earth,
 “ and the foundations of our faith.” Mr. Bayes might, I
 see, have spared Sir Salomon’s sword of the divine institution
 of the sacraments. Here is the terriblest weapon in all his
 armory ; and therefore I perceive, reserved by our duellist
 for the last onset. And, I who am a great well wisher to the
 pillars of the earth, or the eight elephants, lest we should
 have an earthquake ; and much more a servant to the king’s
 prerogative, lest we should all fall into confusion ; and
 perfectly devoted to the foundations of our faith, lest we
 should run out into popery or paganism ; have no heart to
 this encounter : lest if I should prove that the magistrates
 absolute unlimited and uncontrollable power doth not ex-
 tend to define the signification of all words, I should there-
 by not only be the occasion of all those mischiefs menti-
 oned, but which is of far more dismal importance, the loss
 of two or three so significant ceremonies. But though I
 therefore will not dispute against that flower of the princes
 crown, yet I hope that without doing much harm, I may
 observe that for the most part they left it to the people, and
 seldom themselves exercised it. And even Augustus Cæsar,
 though he was so great an emperour, and so valiant a man
 in his own person, was used to fly from a new word though
 it were single, as studiously as a mariner would avoid a
 rock for fear of splitting. The difference of one syllable

in the same word hath made as considerable a controversy as most have been in the church, betwixt the *homousians* and the *homoiousians*. One letter in the name of *beans* in Languedoc, one party calling them *faves*, and the other *haves*; as the transposition only of a letter another time in the name of a goat, by some called *crabe*, and by others *cabre*, was the loss of more mens lives than the distinguishing but by an aspiration in *shiboleth* upon the like occasion. So that if a man would be learnedly impertinent, he might enlarge here to shew that 'tis as dangerous to take a man by the tongue, as a bear by the tooth. And had I a mind to play the politician, like Mr. Bayes, upon so pleasant and copious a subject, I would demonstrate that though the imposition of ceremonies hath bred much mischief in the world, yet (shall I not venture too upon one word once for a tryal) such a penetration or transubstantiation of language would throw all into rebellion and anarchy, would shake the crowns of all princes, and reduce the world into a second Babel. Therefore, Mr. Bayes, I doubt you were not well advised to make so close an analogy betwixt imposing of significant words and significant ceremonies: for I fear the argument may be improved against you, and that princes finding that of words so impracticable, and of ill consequence, will conclude that of ceremonies to be no less pernicious. And the nonconformists (who are great traders, you know, in Scripture, and therefore thrown out of the

temple) will be certainly on your back. For they will appropriate your pregnant text of “let all things be done decently and in order,” to preaching or praying in an unknown tongue, which such an imposition of words would be: and then, to keep you to your similitude, they will say too that yours are all Latine ceremonies, and the congregation does not understand them. But were not this dominion of words so dangerous (for how many millions of men did it cost your Roman Empire to attain it!) yet it was very unmannerly in you to assign to princes, who have enough beside, so mean a trouble. When you gave them leave to exercise the priesthood in person, that was something to the purpose; that was both honourable, and something belongs to it that would have helped to bear the charge. But this mint of words will never quit cost, nor pay for the coynage. This is such a drudgery, that rather than undergo it, I dare say, there is no prince but would resign to you so pedantical a sovereignty. I cannot but think how full that prince’s head must be of proclamations. For, if he published but once a proclamation to that purpose, he must forthwith set out another to stamp and declare the signification of all the words contained in it, and then another to appoint the meaning of all the words in this, and so on: that here is work cut out in one paper of state for the whole privy council, both secretaries of state, and all the clerks of the council, for one king’s reign, and

in infinitum. But, I cannot but wonder, knowing how ambitious Mr. Bayes is of the power over words, and jealous of his own prerogative of refining language, how he came to be so liberal of it to the prince: why, the same thing that induced him to give the prince a power antecedent and independent to Christ, and to establish what religion he pleased, &c. Nothing but his spight against the nonconformists, I know not that thing in the world, except a jest, that he would not part with to be satisfied in that particular. He hoped doubtless by holding up this maxim, to obtain that the words of the declaration of March 15th should be understood by contraries. You may well think he expected no less an equivalent, he would never else have permitted the prince even to define the signification of all words used in the worship of God, and to determine the proper signification of all phrases employed in divine worship. Nay, Mr. Bayes, if it be come to that, and you will surrender your liturgy to the prince, I know not what you mean; for 'tis bound up with your Bible. Was it ever heard that that book so sacred, and in which there could not one error be found by all the Presbyterians at the Worcester-House conference, should, upon so uncertain a prospect, be now abandoned so far as that every word and phrase in it may receive a new and contrary signification! But the king for ought I see likes it well as it is (and therefore I do so too). Yet in case his Majesty should ever think fit to re-
form

form it, and because such kind of work is usually referred back to some of the clergy ; I would gladly put in a caveat, that our author may in no case be one of them. For 'tis known that Mr. Bayes is subject to a distemper ; and who knows but when he is in a fit, as he made such mad alterations of the fruit of the spirit in the epistle for the day, he may as well insert in some other part of the service, " Well fare poor Macedo for a modest fool ;" and then, " Oh how I hug thee, dear heart, for this !" and pretend that the supreme magistrate should stamp upon it a signification sacred and serious. I would not have spoken so severely of him, but that his " more laboured periods," as he calls them, are so often filled with much bolder and more unwholesome translations. But however that he may not at his better intervals be wholly unemployed in the work of uniformity, I should recommend to him rather to turn the Liturgy and the Rationale into the universal language, and so in time the whole world might come to be of his parish.

When he was drawn thus low, did not he, think you, stand in need of tilting ? He had done much more service to the cause, had he laid by all those cheating argumentations, and dealt candidly, like the good Archdeacon, not long since dead ; who went about both court and country, preaching upon the " cloke left at Troas, and the books, but

" espe-

“ especially the parchments.” The honest man had found out there the whole Liturgy, the canonical habits, and all the equipage of a conformist. This was something to the matter in hand, to produce apostolical example and authority : and much more to the purpose than that beaten text of “ doing all things decently and in order.”

One argument I confess remains still behind, and that will justify any thing. 'Tis that which I called lately *rationem ultimam cleri* ; force, law, execution, or what you will have it. I would not be mistaken, as though I hereby meant the body of the English clergy, who have been ever since the Reformation (I say it without disparagement to the foreign churches) of the eminentest for divinity and piety in all Christendom. And as far am I from censuring, under this title, the Bishops of England, for whose function, their learning, their persons I have too deep a veneration to speak any thing of them irreverently. But those that I intend only, are a particular bran of persons, who will, in spite of fate, be accounted the church of England, and to shew they are pluralists, never write in a modest style than *we*, *we* ; nay, even these, several of them, are men of parts sufficient to deserve a rank among the teachers and governors of the church. Only what Bishop Bramhall saith of Grotius his defect in school divinity,

Unum hoc maceror & doleo tibi deesse,

I may.

I may apply to their excess and rigour in matter of discipline. They want all consideration, all moderation in those things; and I never heard of any of them at any time, who, if they got into power or office, did ever make the least experiment or overture towards the peace of the church and nation they lived in. They are the politick Would be's of the clergy. Not Bishops, but men that have a mind to be Bishops, and that will do any thing in the world to compass it. And, though princes have always a particular mark upon these men, and value them no more than they deserve, yet I know not very well, or perhaps I do not know, how it oftentimes happens that they come to be advanced. They are men of a fiery nature, that must always be uppermost; and so they may increase their own splendor, care not though they set all on flame about them. You would think the same day that they took up divinity they divested themselves of humanity, and so they may procure and execute a law against the nonconformists, that they had forgot the Gospel. They cannot endure that humility, that meekness, that strictness of manners and conversation, which is the true way of gaining reputation and authority to the clergy; much less can they content themselves with the ordinary and comfortable provision that is made for the ministry: but, having wholly calculated themselves for preferment and grandeur, know or practise no other means to make themselves venerable, but by ceremony and severity.

Whereas

Whereas the highest advantage of promotion is the opportunity of condescension, and the greatest dignity in our church can but raise them to the title of Your Grace, which is in the Latine *vestra clementia*. But of all these, none are so eager and virulent, as some, who having had relation to the late times, have got access to Ecclesiastical Fortune, and are resolved to make their best of her. For so, of all beasts, none are so fierce and cruel as those that have been taught once by hunger to prey upon their own kind; as of all men, none are so inhumane as the Canibals. But whether this be the true way of ingratiating themselves with a generous and discerning prince, I meddle not; nor whether it be an ingenuous practice towards those whom they have been formerly acquainted with: but whatsoever they think themselves obliged to for the approving of their new loyalty, I rather commend. That which astonishes me, and only raises my indignation is, that of all sorts of men this kind of clergy should always be, and have been for the most precipitate, brutish, and sanguinary counsels. The former civil war cannot make them wise, nor his Majesties happy return, good-natured; but they are still for running things up unto the same extreams. The softness of the Universities where they have been bred, the gentleness of Christianity, in which they have been nurtured, hath but exasperated their nature; and they seem to have contracted no idea of wisdom, but what they learnt at school, the pedantry of whip-

ping. They take themselves qualified to preach the Gospel, and no less to intermeddle in affairs of state: though the reach of their divinity is but to persecution, and an inquisition is the height of their policy.

And you, Mr. Bayes, had you lived in the dayes of Augustus Cæsar (be not scandalized, for why may you not bring sixteen hundred years, as well as five hours into one of your plays) would not you have made, think you, an excellent privy counsellour? His father too was murdered. Or, (to come nearer both to our times, and your resemblance of the late war, which you trumpet always in the ear of his Majesty) had you happened in the time of Henry the Fourth of France, should not you have done well in the cabinet? His predecessor too was assassinated. No, Mr. Bayes, you would not have been for their purpose: they took other measures of government, and accordingly it succeeded with them. And his Majesty, whose genius hath much of both those princes, and who derives half of the blood in his veins from the latter, will in all probability not be so forward to hearken to your advice, as to follow their example. For these Kings, Mr. Bayes, how negligent soever or ignorant you take 'em to be, have, I doubt, a shrewd understanding with them. 'Tis a trade, that God be thanked, neither you nor I are of; and therefore we are not so competent judges of their actions. I myself have oftentimes seen them, some of them, do
strange

strange things, and unreasonable in my opinion, and yet a little while, or sometimes many years after, I have found that all the men in the world could not have contrived any thing better. 'Tis not with them as with you. You have but one cure of souls, or perhaps two, as being a nobleman's chaplain, to look after : and if you make conscience of discharging them as you ought, you would find you had work sufficient without writing your Ecclesiastical Policies. But they are the incumbents of whole kingdoms, and the rectorship of the common people, the nobility, and even of the clergy whom you are prone to "affirm when posselt with principles that incline to rebellion and disloyal practices, to be "of all rebels the most dangerous," page 49. The care, I say, of all these rests upon them. So that they are fain to condescend to many things for peace-sake, and the quiet of mankind, that your proud heart would break before it would bend to. They do not think fit to require any thing that is impossible, unnecessary, or wanton, of their people ; but are fain to consider the very temper of the climate in which they live, the constitution and laws under which they have been formerly bred ; and upon all occasions to give them good words, and humour them like children. They reflect upon the histories of former times, and the present transactions to regulate themselves by in every circumstance. They have heard that one of your Roman Emperours, when his captain of the life-guard came for the word, by giving

it unhandfomly, received a dagger. They observe how the Parliament of Poland will be their King's taylor, and among other reasons, because he would not wear their mode, have suffered the Turk enter, as coming nearer their fashion. Nay, that even Alexander the Great had almost lost all he had conquered, by forcing his subjects to conform to the Persian habit. That the King of Spain, when upon a progress he enters Biscay, is pleased to ride with one leg naked; and above all, to take care that there be not a Bishop in his retinue. So their people will pay their taxes in good gold and silver; they demand no subsidy of so many bushel of fleas, lest they should receive the same answer with the tyrant, that the subject could not furnish that quantity; and besides, they would be leaping out still before they could be measured, and should they fine the people for non-payment, they reckon there would be little got by distraining. They have been told that a certain Queen being desired to give a town-seal to one of her cities, lighting from her horse, sat down naked on the snow, and left them that impression, and though it caused no disturbance, but all the town-leases are letters-patents, Kings do not approve the example. That the late Queen of Sweden did herself no good with saying, *Io non voglio governar le bestie*, but afterwards resigned. That the occasion of the revolt of Switzerland from the Emperor, and its turning commonwealth, was only the imposing of a civil ceremony by a capricious governour, who set up
a pole

a pole in the highway, with a cap upon the top of it, to which he would have all passengers be uncovered, and do obeysance; one sturdy Swift that would not conform, thereupon overturned the government, as 'tis at large in history.. That the King of Spain lost Flanders chiefly upon introducing the Inquisition. And you now, Mr. Bayes, will think these, and an hundred more that I could tell you, but idle stories; and yet Kings can tell how to make use of them. And hence 'tis that instead of assuming your unhopable jurisdiction, they are so satisfied with the abundance of their power, that they rather think meet to abate of its exercise by their discretion. The greater their fortune is, they are content to use the less extravagancy. But because I see, Mr. Bayes, you are a little deaf on this ear, I will talk somewhat closer to you. In this very matter of ceremonies, which you are so bent upon, that your mind is always running on it, when you should be hearkening to the sermon; do not you think that the King knows every word you said, although he never gave your book the reading? That you say, that the clause 50 Eliz. of the Wednesday-fast has been the original of all the Puritan disorders. That the controversy is now reduced only to two or three symbolical ceremonies. That these ceremonies are things indifferent in their own nature, and have no antecedent necessity, but only bind as they are commanded.. That they signify nothing in themselves but what the commander pleases..

That;

That the church itself declares that there is nothing of religion or adoration in them. That they are no parts of religious worship. That they are onely circumstances. That the imposing of a significant ceremony, is no more than to impose significancy upon a word. That there is not a word of any of these ceremonies in the Scriptures. That they are in themselves of no great moment and consequence, but 'tis absolutely necessary that government should injoyn them, to avoid the evil that would follow if they were not determined : and that there cannot be a pin pulled out of the church, but the state immediately totters. Do not you think that the King has considered all these things? I believe he has ; and perhaps, as you have minced the matter, he may well think the nonconformists have very nice stomachs, that they cannot digest such chopped hay : but on the other side, he must needs take you to be very strange men, to cram these in spite down the throats of any Christian. If a man have an antipathy against any thing, the company is generally so civil, as to refrain the use of it, however not to press it upon the person. If a man be sick or weak, the Pope grants a dispensation from Lent, or fasting-days : ay, and from many a thing that strikes deeper in his religion. If one have got a cold, their betters will force them to be covered. There is no end of similitudes : but I am led into them by your calling these ceremonies, pins of the church. It would almost tempt a prince that is curious, and
that

that is settled (God be praised) pretty fast in his throne, to try for experiment, whether the pulling out of one of these pins would make the state totter. But, Mr. Bayes, there is more in it. 'Tis matter of conscience: and if Kings do, out of discretion, connive at the other infirmities of their people; if great persons do out of civility condescend to their inferiours; and if all men out of common humanity do yield to the weaker; will your clergy only be the men, who, in an affair of conscience, and where perhaps 'tis you are in the wrong, be the onely hard-hearted and inflexible tyrants; and not only so, but instigate and provoke princes to be the ministers of your cruelty? But, I say, princes, as far as I can take the height of things so far above me, must needs have other thoughts, and are past such boy's-play, to stake their crowns against your pins. They do not think fit to command things unnecessary, and where the profit cannot countervail the hazard. But above all they consider, that God has instated them in the government of mankind, with that incumbrance (if it may so be called): of reason, and that incumbrance upon reason of conscience. That he might have given them as large an extent of ground and other kind of cattle for their subjects: but it had been a melancholy empire to have been only supreme grasiers and soveraign shepherds. And therefore, though the laziness of that brutal magistracy might have been more secure, yet the difficulty of this does make it more honourable. That

men,

men therefore are to be dealt with reasonably : and conscientious men by conscience. That even law is force, and the execution of that law a greater violence ; and therefore with a rational creature not to be used but upon the utmost extremity. That the body is in the power of the mind ; so that corporal punishments do never reach the offender, but the innocent suffers for the guilty. That the mind is in the hand of God, and cannot correct those persuasions which upon the best of its natural capacity it hath collected : so that it too, though erroneous, is so far innocent. That the prince therefore, by how much God hath indued him with a clearer reason, and by consequence with a more enlightened judgement, ought the rather to take heed, lest by punishing conscience, he violate not onely his own, but the Divine Majesty. But as to that, Mr. Bayes, which you still inculcate of the late war, and its horrid catastrophe; which you will needs have to be upon a religious account : 'tis four-and-twenty years ago, and after an Act of Oblivion ; and for ought I can see, it had been as seasonable to have shewn Cæsar's bloody coat, or Thomas à Becket's bloody rochet. The chief of the offenders have long since made satisfaction to justice ; and the whole nation hath been swept sufficiently of late years by those terrible scourges of heaven : so that methinks, you might in all this while have satiated your mischievous appetite. Whatsoever you suffered in those times, his Majesty, who had much the greater loss, knowing

that the memory of his glorious father will always be preserved, is the best judge how long the revenge ought to be pursued. But if indeed out of your superlative care of his Majesty and your living, you are afraid of some new disturbance of the same nature, let me so far satisfy you as I am satisfied. The nonconformists say, that they are bound in conscience to act as far as they can, and for the rest to suffer to the utmost. But because though they do mean honestly, 'tis so hard a chapter for one that thinks himself in the right to suffer extremities patiently, that some think it impossible; I say next, that it is very seldom seen that in the same age, a civil war, after such an interval, has been raised again upon the same pretences: but men are also wary, that he would be knocked on the head that should raise the first disturbance of the same nature. A new war must have, like a book that would sell, a new title.

I am ashamed, Mr. Bayes, that you put me on talking thus impertinently, (for policy in us is so). Therefore to be short, the king hath so indulged and obliged the nonconformists by his late mercy, that if there were any such knave, there can be no such fool among them, that would ever lift up an ill thought against him. And for you, Mr. Bayes, he is assured of your loyalty, so that I think you may enjoy your living very peaceably, which I know is all your business. 'Twas well replied of the Englishman in

Edward the Fourth's time, to the Frenchman that ask'd him insulting, when they should see us there again? "when your sins are greater than ours." There are as many occasions of war, as there are vices in a nation: and therefore it concerns a prince to be watchful on all hands. But should kings remember an injury as long as you implacable divines do, or should we take up arms upon your becks, because your Ecclesiastical Policy is answered, to revenge your quarrel, the world would never be at quiet. Therefore, Mr. Bayes, let all those things of former times alone, and mind your own business: for kings, believe me, as they have royal understandings, so have gentlemens memories.

And now, Master Bayes, I think it is time to take my leave, having troubled you with so long a visit. Onely before I quit this matter, because I do not love to be accounted singular in my opinion, I will add the judgement of one author, and that as pertinent as I could pick out to our purpose. I have observed that not onely other princes, but Queen Elizabeth too hath the misfortune to be much out of favour. But for what reason I cannot possibly imagine; for none ever deserved better as to the thing of uniformity, unless it be the ill luck she had to pass that impertinent clause in the act of the fifth of Elizabeth, of the *Jejunium Cæcilianum*. You cannot, for her sake, indure the wit or
 3 learning

learning of her times, but say, page 94 of your second book, “ though this trifling artifice of sprinkling little
 “ fragments of wit and poetry might have passed for wit
 “ and learning in the days of Queen Elizabeth, yet to
 “ men of learning, reading and ingenuity, their vulgar
 “ use has sullied their lustre, and abated their value.” This is indeed, Mr. Bayes, a very laboured period, and prepared by you, I believe, on purpose as a model of the wit and eloquence of your days. But not onely so; but page 483 of the same book, I think you call her in derision, and most spitefully and unmanneredly, plain “ old Elfisheth.” And those that knew her humour, think you could not have disoblighed her more than in stiling her so; both as a woman, which sex never love to be thought old, and as a queen who was jealous, lest men should therefore talk of the succession. Besides the irreverent nickname you give her, that you might as well have presumed to call her queen Bess, or Bold Bettrice. Now to the end that that queen of famous memory may have a little female revenge upon you, and to give you a taste of the wit and learning even of her times; I will sprinkle here one fragment, which not being a scholar-like saying of antient poet or philosopher, but of a reverend divine, I hope, Master Bayes, may be less displeasing to you. The man is Parker, not Robert Parker, who writ another treatise of Ecclesiastical Policy, and the book de Cruce, for which if they had catched him,

he had possibly gone to the gallows, or at least the galleys. For he was one of those well meaning zealots, that are of all villains the most dangerous. But it is the Archbishop of Canterbury, Parker, (for if I named him before without addition, 'twas what I learnt of you speaking of Whitgift) he in his book *de Antiquitatibus Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, page 47, speaking of the slaughter of the monks of Bangor, and so many Christians more, upon the instigation of Austin the monk, who stirred up Ethelbert king of Kent against them, because they would not receive the Romish ceremonies; useth these words, *et sanè illa prima de Romanis ritibus inducendis per Augustinum tunc excitata contentio, quæ non nisi clade & sanguine innocentium Britannorum poterat extinguï; ad nostra recentiora tempora, cum simili perniciæ cædeque Christianorum pervenit. Cum enim illis gloriosis ceremoniis à purâ primitivæ Ecclesiæ simplicitate recesserunt, non de vitæ sanctitate; de evangelij prædicatione, de Spiritus Sancti vi & consolatione multum laborabant; sed novas indies altercationes de novis ritibus per papas singulos additis, qui neminem tam excelso gradu dignum qui aliquid, ceremonioso non dicam, monstruosi, inauditi & inusitati non adjecisset, instituebant. Suggestaque & scholas fabulis rixisque suis implebant. Nam prima ecclesiæ species simplicior & integro & interno Dei cultu, ab ipso verbo præscripto, nec vestibus splendidis, nec magnificis structuris decorata, nec auro, argento, gemmisque fulgens fuit: etsi liceat his exterioribus uti modo*

modo animum ab illo interiori & integro Dei cultu non abducant; curiosis & morosis ritibus ab illâ primævâ & rectâ simplicitate evangelicâ degeneravit. Illa autem in Romanâ ecclesiâ rituum multitudo ad immensum illius magni Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi temporibus creverat: ut questus sit Christianorum in ceremoniis & ritibus duriores quàm Judæorum, qui etiamsi tempus libertatis non agnoverint, legalibus tamen sarcinis non humanis præsumptionibus subiciebantur; nam paucioribus in divino cultu quàm Christiani ceremoniis utebantur. Qui si sensisset quantus deinde per singulos papas coacervatus cumulus accessit, modum Christianum credo ipse statuisset; qui hoc malum tunc in ecclesiâ viderat. Videmus enim ab illâ ceremoniarum contentione nedum ecclesiam esse vacuum; quin homines alioquin docti atque pii de vestibus & hujusmodi nugis ad huc, rixoso magis & militari, quàm aut philosophico aut Christiano more inter se digladiantur. These words do run direct against the genius of some men that contributed not a little to the late rebellion, and, though so long since writ, do so exactly describe that evil spirit with which some men are even in these times possess'd, who seem desirous upon the same grounds to put all things in combustion, that I think them very well worth the labour of translating. [And indeed, that first contention then rais'd by Augustine about the introducing of the Romish ceremonies, which could not be quenched but by the blood and slaughter of the innocent Britons, hath been continued e'en to our
later

later times, with the like mischief and murder of Christians. For when once by those glorious ceremonies they forsook the pure simplicity of the primitive church, they did not much trouble themselves about holiness of life, the preaching of the Gospel, the efficacy and comfort of the Holy Spirit: but they fell every day into new squabbles about new-fangled ceremonies added by every pope, who reckoned no man worthy of so high a degree but such as invented somewhat, I will not say ceremonious, but monstrous, unheard of, and before unpractised; and they filled the schools and the pulpits with their fables and brawling of such matters. For the first beauty of the church had more of simplicity and plainness; and was neither adorned with splendid vestments, nor magnificent structures, nor shined with gold, silver, and precious stones; but with the intire and inward worship of God, as it was by Christ himself prescribed, although it may be lawful to use these external things, so they do not lead the mind astray from that more inward and intire worship of God; by those curious and crabbed rites it degenerated from that antient and right evangelical simplicity. But that multitude of rites in the Romish church, had unmeasurably increased in the times of that great Augustine the Bishop of Hippo, in so much that he complained that the condition of Christians as to rites and ceremonies, was then harder than that of the Jews; who although they did not discern the time of
their

their liberty, yet were only subjected to legal burthens, instituted first by God himself, not to humane presumptions, for they used fewer ceremonies in the worship of God than Christians. Who, if he could have foreseen how great a heap of them was afterwards piled up, and added by the several popes, he himself doubtless would have restrained it within Christian measure, having already perceived this growing evil in the church. For we see, that even yet the church is not free from that contention: but men, otherwise learned and pious, do still cut and slash about vestments and such kind of trifles, rather in a swash-buckler and hectoring way, than either like philosophers or like Christians.]

Now, Mr. Bayes, I doubt you must be put to the trouble of writing another preface against this Archbishop. For nothing in your answerer's treatise of Evangelical Love does so gird or aim at you, for ought I can see, or at those whom you call the church of England, as this passage. But the last period does so plainly delineate you to the life, that what St. Austine did not presage, the Bishop seems to have foreseen most distinctly. 'Tis just your way of writing all along in this matter. You bring nothing sound or solid. Onely you think you have got the great secret, or the philosophers stone of railing, and I believe it, you have so multiplied it in projection: and as they into gold, so you

turn.

turn every thing you meet with into railing. And yet the secret is not great, nor the process long or difficult, if a man would study it, and make a trade on't. Every scold hath it naturally. It is but crying whore first, and having the last word, and whatsoever t'other says, cry, Oh these are your nonconformists tricks, oh you have learnt this of the Puritans in Grubstreet. Oh you white aproned gossip. For indeed I never saw so provident a fetch: you have taken in before hand all the posts of railing, and so beset all the topicks of just crimination, foreseeing where you are feeble, that if this trick would pass, it were impossible to open one's mouth to find the least fault with you. For in your first chapter of your second book, beside what you do alwayes in an hundred places when you are at a loss, you have spent almost an hundred pages upon a character of the fanatick deportment toward all adversaries. And then on the other side, you have so ingrossed and brought up all the ammunition of railing, searched every corner in the Bible, and Don Quixot for powder, that you thought, not unreasonably, that there was not one shot left for a fanatick. But truth, you see, cannot want words: and she laughs too sometimes when she speaks, and rather than all fail too, be serious. But what will you say to that of the Archbishops, "than either like philosophers or like christians?" for the excellency of your logick, philosophy and christianity in all your books, is either, as in
conscience,

conscience, to take away the subject of the question; or as in the magistrate, having gotten one absurdity, to raise a thousand more from it. So that, except the manufacture and labour of your periods, you have done no more than any school-boy could have done on the same terms. And so, Mr. Bayes, good-night.

And now good-morrow, Mr. Bayes; for though it seems so little a time and that you are now gone to bed, it hath been a whole live-long night, and you have tossed up and down in many a troublesome dream, and are but just now awaked at the title page of your book: "A preface shewing what grounds there are of fears and jealousies of popery." It is something artificially couched, but looks as if it did allow, that there are some grounds of fears and jealousies of that nature. But here he words it, "a consideration what likelihood, or how much danger there is of the return of popery into this nation." Had he not come to this at last, I should have thought I had been all this while reading a chapter in Mountagu's Essayes; where you find sometimes scarce one word in the discourse of the matter held forth in the title. But now indeed he takes up this argument and debates it to purpose. For I had before begun to shew that he had writ not only his two former books but especially too this preface, with an evil eye and aim at his Majesty, and the measures he had taken of government.

And whoever will take the pains to read here, will soon be of my mind. His Majesty had, I said, the 15th of March 1671, issued his declaration of indulgence to tender consciences. He, on the contrary, issues out thereupon, all in hast and as fast as he could write, this his remonstrance or manifesto against indulgence to tender consciences: and to make his Majesties proceedings more odious, stirs up this seditious matter, of what probability there is of popery.

And this he discourses, to be sure, in his own-imagination very cunningly. For he knows that there was an act of parliament in this king's reign with a greater penalty than that of 50 Eliz. of spreading false news, against reports of this nature. And therefore, he resolves to handle it so warily, that he himself might escape, but might draw others that should answer him, within the danger of that act, and that he may lay the crime at their doors. But notwithstanding all his flights and Legerdemain, it doth enough detect his malice and ill intention to his Majesties government, that he should take this occasion, altogether foreign and unseasonable, to raise a publick and sollemn discourse through the whole nation, concerning a matter the most odious and dangerous that could be exposed. So that now no man can look at the wall, no man can pass by a book-sellers stall, but he must see "A preface shewing what grounds there are for fears and jealousies of popery."

It

It had been something a safer and more dutiful way of writing a preface shewing the causelessness of the fears and jealousies of popery. For I do not think it will excuse a witch, to say, that she conjured up a spirit only that she might lay it, nor can there be a more dextrous and malicious way of calumny, than by making a needless apology for another, in a criminal subject. As, suppose I should write a preface showing what grounds there are of fears and jealousies of Bayes his being an atheist. But this is exactly our author's method and way of contrivance; whereby more effectually by far, than by any flying coffee-house tattle, he traduces the state, and by printing so pernicious a question, fills all mens mouths, and beats out all mens eyes with the probability of the return of popery. Had he heard any that malignly and officiously talked to such a purpose, it had been the part of one so prudent as he is, not to have continued the discourse. Had he (as he hath a great gift that way) picked up out of any man's talk or writing, matter whereof to make an ill story; there was a better and more regular way of proceeding, had he meant honestly to his Majesties government, to have prevented the evil, and to have brought the offender to punishment. He should have gone to one of the secretaries of state, or to some other of his Majesties privy council and have given them information. But, instead of that, I am afraid that in the survey of this business, we shall find, that even some

of them are either accused, or shrewdly marked out with a character of our author's displeasure. Therefore, I will now come nearer to his matter in hand, although it concerns me to be careful of coming too near, nor shall I dwell too long upon so jealous and impertinent a subject.

“ To consider what likelihood or how much danger there
 “ is of the return of popery into this nation.” The very first
 word is, “ for my part I know none.” Very well considered. Why then, Mr. Bayes, I must tell you, that if I
 had printed a book or preface upon that argument, I should
 have thought myself at least a fool for my labour. The
 next considerer is mine enemy; I mean he is an enemy to
 the state, whoever shall foment such discourses without
 any likelihood or danger. Yet, Mr. Bayes, you know, I have
 for a good while had no great opinion of your integrity;
 neither here. I doubt you prevaricate a little with some-
 body. For I suppose you cannot be ignorant that some of
 your superiors of your robe did, upon the publishing that
 declaration, give the word, and deliver orders through
 their ecclesiastical camp, to beat up the pulpit drums against
 popery. Nay, even so much that there was care taken too
 for arming the “ poor readers, that though they came short
 “ of preachers in point of efficacy, yet they might be ena-
 “ bled to do something in point of common security.” So
 that, though for so many years, those your superiors had
 I forgot

forgot there was any such thing in the nation as a popish recusant, though polemical and controversial divinity had for so long been hung up in the halls, like the rusty obsolete armour of our ancestors, for monuments of antiquity, and for derision rather than service; all on a sudden (as if the 15th of March had been the 5th of November) happy was he that could climb up first to get down one of the old cuirasses, or an habergeon that had been worn in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Great variety there was and heavy too. Some clapped it on all rusty as it was, others fell of oyling and furbishing their armour: some pissed in their barrels, others spit in their pans, to scowr them. Here you might see one put on his helmet the wrong way: there one buckle on a back in place of a breast. Some by mistake caught up a Socinian Arminian argument, and some a popish to fight a popish. Here a dwarf lost in the accoutrements of a giant: there a Don Quixot in an equipage of differing pieces, and of several parishes. Never was such incongruity and nonconformity in their furniture. One ran to borrow a sword of Calvin. This man for a musket from Beza: that for a bandeleers even from Keckerman. But when they came to seek match and bullet, and powder, there was none to be had. The fanatics had bought it all up, and made them pay for it most unconscionably, and through the nose. And no less sport was it to see their leaders. Few could tell how to give the word of command,

nor

not understood to drill a company : they were as unexpert as their soldiers aukward ; and the whole was as pleasant a spectacle, as the exercising of the trained bands in —shire. But Mr. Bayes (for I believe you do nothing but upon common advice) either this was all intended but for a false alarm, and was only for a pretence to take arms against the fanaticks (which you might have done without raising all this din and obloquy against the state and disquieting his Majesties good subjects : or else you did really think (and who can help misapprehensions?) that you did know some likelihood or danger of the return of popery. I crave you mercy, Mr. Bayes, I took you a little short. “ For my part I know none,” you say, “ but the nonconformists “ boysterous and unreasonable opposition to the church of “ England.”

This I confess hath some weight in it. For truly before I knew none too. I was of your opinion Mr. Bayes, and believed that popery could never return into England again, but by some very sinister accident. This expression of mine is something uncouth, and therefore because I love to give you satisfaction in all things, Mr. Bayes, I will acquaint you with my reason of using it. Henry the Fourth of France, his Majesties Grandfather, lived (you know) in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Now the wit of France and England, as you may have observed, is much of the same mode,
and

and hath at all times gone much after the same current rate and standard; only there hath been some little difference in the alloy, and advantage or disadvantage in the exchange according to mens occasions. Now Henry the Fourth was (you know too) a prince like Bishop Bramhall, "of a brave
"and enterprising temper, and had a mind large and active
"enough to have managed the Roman Empire at its utmost
"extent; and particularly (as far as the prejudice of the
"age (Old Elfsabeth's age) would permit him)." He was very witty and facetious, and the courtiers strove to humour him alwaies in it, and increase the mirth. . So one night after supper he gave a subject (which recreation did well enough in those times, but were now insipid) upon which, like Boyes at Westminster, they should make French verse extempore. The subject was, *un accident sinistre*. Straight answers, I know not whether 'twas *Bassampierre* or *Obignè* :

Un sinistre accident & un accident sinistre ;

De veoir un Pere Capuchin chevaucher un Ministre.

For when I said, to see popery return here, would be a very sinister accident; I was just thinking upon that story; the verses, to humour them in translation, being only this :

O what a trick unlucky, and how unlucky a trick,

To see friend Doctor Patrick, bestrid by Father Patrick!

Which.

Which seemed to me, would be the most improbable and preposterous spectacle that ever was seen; and more ridiculous for a fight, than the Friendly Debate is for a book. And yet if popery come in, this must be, and worse.

But now I see there is some danger by the nonconformists opposition to the church of England. And now your business is all fixed. The fanaticks are ready at hand to bear the blame of all things. Many a good job have I seen done in my time upon pretence of the fanaticks. I do not think Mr. Bayes ever breaks his shins, but it is by stumbling upon a fanatick. And how shall they bring in popery? Why thus, three wayes. “First, By creating disorders and
“disturbances in the state. Secondly, By the assistance
“of atheism and irreligion. Thirdly, By joining with
“crafty and sacrilegious statesmen in confederacy.” Now here I remark two things. One, that however you do not find that the fanaticks are inclinable to popery, only they may accommodate it by creating disturbances in the state. Another is, that I see these gentlemen, the fanaticks, the atheists, and the sacrilegious statesmen are not yet acquainted; but you have appointed them a meeting (I believe it must be at your lodgings, or no where;) and I hope you will treat them handfomly. But I think it was not so wisely done, nor very honestly, Mr. Bayes, to lay so dangerous a
plot

plot as this ; and instruct men that are strangers yet to one another, how to contrive together such a conspiracy. But first to your first.

The “ fanaticks, you say, may probably raise disturbance “ in the state.” For they “ are so little friends to the present government, that their enmity to that is one of the “ main grounds of their quarrel to the church.” But now, though I must confess it is very much to your purpose, if you could persuade men so ; I think you are clear out, and misrepresent here the whole matter. For I know of no enmity they have to the church itself, but what it was in her power always to have remedied, and so it is still. But such as you it is that have always strove by your leavings to keep up a strangeness and misunderstanding betwixt the King and his people ; and all the mischief that hath come on’t does lye much at your door.

Whereas they, as all the rest of mankind, are men for their own ends too : and no sooner hath the King shown them this late favour, but you, Mr. Bayes, and your partners, reproach them for being too much friends to the prerogative. And no less would they be to the church, had they ever at any age in any time found her in a treatable temper. I know nothing they demand, but what is so far from doing you any harm, that it would only make you better. But that indeed is the harm, that is the thing you are afraid

of. Here our author divides the discourse into a great eulogy of the church of England; that if he were making her funeral sermon, he could not say more in her commendation; and a contrary invective against the nonconformists, upon whom (as if all he had said before had been nothing) he unloads his whole leyftal, and dresseth them up all in *sambenitas*, painted with all the flames and devils in hell, to be led to the place of execution, and there burnt to ashes. Nevertheless, I find on either side only the natural effect of such hyperboles and oratory, that is, not to be believed. The church of England (I mean as it is by law established, lest you should think I equivocate) hath such a stock of solid and deserved reputation, that it is more than you (Mr. Bayes) can spoil or deface by all the pedantry of your commendation. Only there is that party of the clergy, that I not long ago described, and who will always presume to be the only church of England, who have been a perpetual eye-sore, that I may not say a canker and gangrene in so perfect a beauty. And, as it joyes my heart to hear any thing well said of her; so I must confess, it stirs my choler, when I hear those men pride and boast themselves under the mask of her authority. Neither did I therefore approve of an expression you here use: "the power of princes would be a very precarious thing without the assistance of ecclesiasticks, and all government does, and must owe its quiet and continuance to the church's patronage." That is as much as to say,
That

That but for the assistance of your Ecclesiastical Policy, princes might go a begging: and that the church, that is you, have the *jus patronatus* of the kingdom, and may present whom you think fitting to the crown of England. This is indeed something like the return of Popery; and right

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho.

The crown was surely well helped up, if it were to be held at your convenience, and the Emperour must lead the Patriarch's ass all his life-time. And little better do I like your
 “ We may rest satisfied in the present security of the church
 “ of England, under the protection of a wise and gracious
 “ prince: especially, when besides the impregnable confi-
 “ dence that we have from his own inclination, it is so mani-
 “ fest that he never can forsake it either in honour or inte-
 “ rest.” This is a pretty way of coaxing indeed, while you are all this while cutting the grass under his feet, and animating the people against the exercise of his ecclesiastical supremacy. Men are not so plain-hearted, but they can see through this oblique rhetorication and sophistry. If there be no danger in his time of taking a pin out of the church (for that it is you intended) why do you then speak of it in his time, but that you mean mischief? But here you do not only mow the grass under his feet, but you take the pillow from under his head. “ But should it ever happen

"that any King of England should be prevailed with to
 "deliver up the church, he had as good at the same time
 "resign up his crown." This is pretty plain dealing, and
 you have doubtless secured hereby that prince's favour: I
 should have thought it better courtship in a divine, to have
 said, O King, live for ever. But I see, Mr. Bayes, that you
 and your partners are very necessary men, and it were dan-
 gerous disobliging you. But in this imprudent and nauseous
 discourse, you have all along appropriated or impropriated all
 the loyalty from the nobility, the gentry and the commonalty,
 and dedicated it to the church; so, I doubt, you are a little
 too immoderate against the body of the nonconformists.
 You represent them, to a man, to be all of them of repub-
 lican principles, most pestilent, and, *eo nomine*, enemies to
 monarchy; traytors and rebels; such miscreants as never
 were in the world before, and fit to be packed out of it with
 the first convenience. And, I observe, that all the argu-
 ment of your books is but very frivolous and trivial: only
 the memory of the late war serves for demonstration, and
 the detestable sentence and execution of his late Majesty, is
 represented again upon the scaffold; and you having been,
 I suspect, better acquainted with parliament declarations
 formerly upon another account, do now apply and turn
 them all over to prove that the late war was wholly upon a
 fanatical cause, and the dissenting party do still go big with
 the same monster. I grew hereupon much displeased with
 my

my own ignorance of the occasion of those troubles so near our own times; and betook myself to get the best information concerning them, to the end that I might, if it appeared so, decline the dangerous acquaintance of the nonconformists, some of whom I had taken for honest men, nor therefore avoided their company. But I took care nevertheless, not to receive impressions from any of their party; but to gather my lights from the most impartial authorities that I could meet with. And I think I am now partly prepared to give you, Mr. Bayes, some better satisfaction in this matter. And because you are a dangerous person, I shall as little as possible say any thing of my own, but speak too before good witnesses. First of all therefore, I will, without farther ceremony, fall upon you with the but-end of another Archbishop. 'Tis the Archbishop of Canterbury, Abbot, in the narrative under his own hand, concerning his disgrace at court in the time of his late Majesty. I shall only in the way demand excuse, if, contrary to my fashion, the names of some eminent persons in our church, long since dead, be revived here under no very good character; and most particularly that of Archbishop Laud, who, if for nothing else, yet for his learned book against Fisher, deserved far another fate than he met with, and ought not now to be mentioned without due honour. But those names having so many years since escaped the press, it is not in my power to conceal them; and I believe Archbishop Abbot did not write but upon good consideration.

This

This I have premised for my own satisfaction, and I will add one thing more, Mr. Bayes, for yours. That whereas the things now to be alledged relate much to some impositions of money in the late King's time, that were carried on by the clergy ; I know you will be ready to carp at that, as if the nonconformists had, and would be always enemies to the King's supply. Whereas, Mr. Bayes, if I can do the nonconformists no good, I am resolved I will do them no harm, nor desire that they should lie under any imputation on my account. For I write by my own advice, and what I shall alledge concerning the clergies intermeddling with supplies, is upon a particular aversion that I have, upon good reason, against their disposing of our money. And, Mr. Bayes, I will acquaint you with the reason, which is this. 'Tis not very many years ago that I used to play at picket ; and there was a gentleman of your robe, a dignitary of Lincoln, very well known and remembred in the ordinaries, but being not long since dead, I will save his name. Now I used to play pieces, and this gentleman would alwayes go half a crown with me, and so all the while he sate on my hand he very honestly *gave the sign*, so that I was always sure to lose. I afterwards discovered it ; but of all the money that ever I was cheated of in my life, none ever vexed me so, as what I lost by his occasion. And ever since, I have borne a great grudge against their fingering of any thing that belongs to me. And I have been told, and
showed

showed the place where the man dwelt in the late King's time near Hampton-Court, that there was one that used to rob on the highway, in the habit of a bishop, and all his fellows rid too in canonical coats. And I can but fancy how it madded those, that would have perhaps been content to relieve an honest gentleman in distress, or however would have been less grieved to be robbed by such an one, to see themselves so episcopally pillaged. Neither must it be less displeasing alwayes to the gentry and commonalty of England, that the clergy (as you do, Mr. Bayes) should tell them that they are never *sui juris*, not only as to their consciences, but even as to their purses; and you should pretend to have this power of the keys too, where they lock their money. Nay, I dare almost aver upon my best observation, that there never was, nor ever will be a parliament in England, that could or can refuse the King supplies proportionable to his occasions, without any need of recourse to extraordinary ways; but for the pickthankness of the clergy, who will always presume to have the thanks and honour of it, nay, and are ready always to obstruct the parliamentary aids, unless they may have their own little project pass too into the bargain, and they may be gratified with some new ecclesiastical power, or some new law against the fanaticks. This is the naked truth of the matter. Whereas Englishmen always love to see how their money goes, and if there be any interest or profit to be got by it, to receive it themselves.

selves. Therefore, Mr. Bayes, I will go on with my business, not fearing all the mischief that you can make of it.

“ There was,” saith he, “ one Sibthorp, who not being so much as Batchelor of Arts, by the means of Doctor Pierce, Vice-chancellor of Oxford, got to be conferred upon him the title of Doctor. This man was Vicar of Brackley in Northamptonshire, and hath another benefice. This man preaching at Northampton, had taught, that princes had power to put poll-money upon their subjects heads. He being a man of a low fortune, conceived the putting his sermon in print might gain favour at court, and raise his fortune higher. It was at the same time that the business of the loan was on foot.” In the same sermon “ he called that loan a tribute ; taught that the King’s duty is first to direct and make laws. That nothing may excuse the subject from active obedience, but what is against the law of God or nature, or impossible ; that all antiquity was absolutely for absolute obedience in all civil and temporal things.” And the imposing of poll-money by princes, he justified out of St. Matthew : and in the matter of the loan, “ What a speech is this,” saith the Bishop, “ he observes the forwardness of the Papists to offer double ?” For this sermon was sent to the Bishop from court, and he required to licence it, not under his chaplain, but his own hand. But he, not being satisfied of the doctrine delivered,

sent back his reasons why he thought not fit to give his approbation, and unto these Bishop Laud, who was in this whole business, and a rising man at court, undertook an answer. "His life in Oxford," saith Archbishop Abbot, "was to pick quarrels in the lectures of public readers, and to advertise them to the Bishop of Durham, that he might fill the ears of King James with discontent against the honest men that took pains in their places, and settled the truth (which he called Puritanism) in their auditors. He made it his work to see what books were in the press, and to look over epistles dedicatory, and prefaces to the reader, to see what faults might be found. 'Twas an observation what a sweet man this was like to be, that the first observable act he did, was the marrying of the Earl of D. to the Lady R. when she had another husband, a nobleman, and divers children by him." Here he tells how, for this very cause, King James would not a great while endure him, till he yielded at last to Bishop Williams his importunity, whom notwithstanding he straight strove to undermine, and did at last to purpose: for, saith the Archbishop, "Verily, such is his undermining nature, that he will underwork any man in the world, so he may gain by it. He called in the Bishop of Durham, Rochester, and Oxford, tryed men for such a purpose, to the answering of my reasons, and the whole stile of the speech, runs We, We. In my memory, Doctor Harfnet, then Bishop of Chichester, and

“ now of Norwich (as he came afterward to be Archbishop
 “ of York) preached at Whitehall upon, *Give unto Cæsar*
 “ *the things that are Cæsar’s*; a sermon that was afterwards
 “ burned, teaching that goods and money were Cæsar’s,
 “ and so the King’s: whereupon King James told the Lords
 “ and Commons, that he had failed in not adding, accord-
 “ ing to the laws and customs of the country wherein they
 “ did live. But Sibthorp was for absolutely absolute. So
 “ that if the King had sent to me for all my money and
 “ goods, and so to the clergy, I must, by Sibthorp’s propor-
 “ tion, send him all. If the King should send to the city
 “ of London to command all their wealth, they were bound
 “ to do it. I know the King is so gracious he will attempt no
 “ such matter; but if he do it not, the defect is not in these
 “ flattering divines.” Then he saith, reflecting again upon
 the loan, which Sibthorp called a tribute, “ I am sorry at
 “ heart, the King’s gracious Majesty should rest so great a
 “ building on so weak a foundation, the treatise being so
 “ slender, and without substance, but that proceeded from an
 “ hungry man.” Then he speaks of his own case as to the
 licensing this book, in parallel to the Earl of Essex his di-
 vorce; which to give it more authority, “ was to be rati-
 “ fied judicially by the archbishop.” He concludes how
 finally he refused his approbation to this sermon, and saith
 “ it was thereupon carried to the Bishop of London, who
 “ gave a great and stately allowance of it, the good man

“not being willing that any thing should stick with him
 “that came from court, as appears by a book commonly
 “called the Seven Sacraments, which was allowed by his
 “lordship with all the errors, which have been since ex-
 “punged.” And he adds a pretty story of one Doctor
 Woral, the Bishop of London’s chaplain, “Scholar good
 “enough, but a free fellow-like man, and of no very ten-
 “der conscience,” who before it was licensed by the Bishop,
 Sibthorp’s sermon being brought to him, “hand over head
 “approved it, and subscribed his name.” But afterwards
 hearing more of it, went to a counsel at the Temple, who
 told him, that by that book “there was no *meum* nor *tuum*
 “left in England, and if ever the tide turned, he might
 “come to be hanged for it,” and thereupon “Woral
 “scraped out his name again,” and left it to his lord to li-
 cense. Then the Archbishop takes notice of the instruc-
 tions for that loan. “Those that refused, to be sent for
 “souldiers to the King of Denmark. Oaths to be admi-
 “nistered with whom they had conference; and who dis-
 “swaded them, such persons to be sent to prison, &c. He
 “saith that he had complained thrice of Mountague’s Ar-
 “minian book, to no purpose: Cofins put out his book
 “of Seven Sacraments (strange things) but I knew nothing of
 “it, but as it pleased my Lord of Durham and the Bishop
 “of Bath, so it went.” In conclusion, the good Archbi-
 shop, for refusing this licence of Sibthorp’s sermons, was, by

the under working of his adversaries, first commanded from Lambeth, and confined to his house in Kent, and afterwards sequestred, and a commission passed to exercise the Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction to the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bishop Laud (who from thence arose in time to be the Archbishop). If I had leisure how easy a thing it were for me to extract out of the narrative a just parallel of our author, even almost upon all points? but I am now upon a more serious subject, and therefore shall leave the application to his own ingenuity, and the good intelligence of the reader.

About the same time (for I am speaking within the circle of 2°, 3°, and 4° Caroli) that this book of Sibthorp's, called Apostolical Obedience, was printed, there came out another of the same stamp, intitled Religion and Allegiance, by one Doctor Manwaring. It was the substance of two sermons preached by him at Whitehall, beside what of the same nature at his own parish of Saint Giles. Therein he delivered for truth, "That the king is not bound to ob-
 "serve the laws of the realm concerning the subjects rights
 "and liberties, but that his royal word and command, in
 "imposing loans and taxes without common consent in par-
 "liament, does oblige the subjects conscience upon pain of
 "eternal damnation, that those who refused to pay this
 "loan, offended against the law of God, and the king's su-
 "pream

“ pream authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloy-
 “ alty and rebellion. That the authority of parliament was
 “ not necessary for raising of aids and subsidies, and the slow
 “ proceedings of such great assemblies were not fitted for the
 “ supply of the states urgent necessities, but would rather
 “ produce fundry impediments to the just designs of
 “ princes.” And after he had been questioned for this doc-
 trine, nevertheless he preached again, “ That the king had
 “ right to order all as to him should seem good, without
 “ any man’s consent. That the king might, in time of ne-
 “ cessity, demand aid, and if the subject did not supply him,
 “ the king might justly avenge it. That the propriety of
 “ estate and goods was ordinarily in the subject, but extra-
 “ ordinarily in the king; that in case of the king’s need
 “ he hath right to dispose them.” He had besides, entring
 into comparison, called the refusers of the loan, “ tempo-
 “ ral recusants, and said, the same disobedience that they
 “ (the papists as they then called them) practise in spi-
 “ rituals, that or worse, some of our side, if ours they be,
 “ dare to practise in temporals.” And he aggravated fur-
 ther upon them under the resemblance of Turks, Jews,
 Corah, Dathan and Abiram; “which last,” said he, “ might
 “ as well liken themselves to the three children; or Theu-
 “ das and Judas, the two incendiaries in the daies of
 “ Cæsar’s tribute, might as well pretend their cause to be
 “ like that of the Maccabees, as what the refusers alledged
 “ in their own defence.”

I should not have been so large in these particulars, had they been only single and volatile sermons, but because this was then the doctrine of those persons that pretended to be the church of England. The whole quire sung that tune, and instead of the common law of England, and the statutes of parliament, that part of the clergy had invented these Ecclesiastical Lawes, which, according to their predominancy, were sure to be put in execution. So that between their own revenue, which must be held *Jura Divino*, as every thing else that belonged to them, and the princes, that was *Jure Regio*, they had not left an inch of propriety for the subject. It seemed that they had granted themselves letters of reprisal against the laity, for the losses of the church under Henry the Eighth, and that they would make a greater havock upon their temporalities in retaliation. And indeed, having many times since pondered with my greatest and earnest impartiality, what could be the true reason of the spleen that they manifested in those daies, on the one hand against the Puritans, and on the other against the Gentry, (for it was come, they tell me, to Jack Gentleman) I could not devise any cause, but that the Puritans had, ever since the Reformation, obstructed that laziness and splendor which they enjoyed under the Pope's supremacy, and the Gentry had (sacrilegiously) divided the Abby Lands, and other fat morsels of the church at the dissolution, and now was the time to be revenged on them.

While

While therefore the kingdome was turned into a prison upon occasion of this Ecclesiastical Loan, and many of the eminentest of the gentry of England were under restraint, they thought it seasonable to recover once again their ancient glory, and to *magnificate* the church with triumphant pomp and ceremony. The three ceremonies that have the countenance of law, would not suffice, but they were all upon new inventions, and happy was he that was endued with that capacity, for he was sure before all others to be preferred. There was a second service, the table set *altar-wise*, and to be called the *altar, candles, crucifixes, paintings, imagery, copes, bowing to the east, bowing to the altar*, and so many several cringes and genuflexions, that a man unpractised stood in need to entertain both a dancing master and a remembrancer. And though these things were very uncouth to English protestants who naturally affect a plainness of fashion, especially in sacred things; yet if those gentlemen could have contented themselves with their own formality, the innovation had been more excusable. But many of these additions, and to be sure, all that had any colour of law, were so imposed and pressed upon others that a great part of the nation was even put to it as it were to fine and ransom upon this account. What censures, what excommunications, what deprivations, what imprisonments? I cannot represent the misery and desolation, as it hath been represented to me. But wearied out at home,
many

many thousand of his Majesties subjects, to his and the nations great loss, thought themselves constrained to seek another habitation, and every country, even though it were among savages and cannibals, appeared more hospitable to them than their own.

And, although I have been told by those that have seen both, that our church did even then exceed the Romish in ceremonies and decorations; and indeed, several of our church did thereby frequently mistake their way, and from a popish kind of worship, fell into the Romish religion; yet I cannot upon my best judgement believe, that that party had generally a design to alter the religion so far, but rather to set up a new kind of Papacy of their own, here in England. And it seemed they had, to that purpose, provided themselves of a new religion in Holland. It was Arminianism, which though it were the republican opinion there, and so odious to King James, that it helped on the death of Barneveldt, yet now they undertook to accommodate it to monarchy and episcopacy. And the choice seemed not imprudent. For on the one hand, it was removed at so moderate a distance from popery, that they should not disoblige the papists more than formerly, neither yet could the puritans, with justice, reproach these men, as Romish Catholics; and yet, on the other hand, they knew it was so contrary to the ancient reformed doctrine of the church of England, that the puritans would
never

never embrace it, and so they should gain this pretence further to keep up that convenient and necessary quarrel against nonconformity. And accordingly it happened, so that here again was a new *shiboleth*. And the Calvinists were all studiously discountenanced, and none but an Arminian was judged capable and qualified for employment in the church. And though the king did declare, as I have before mentioned, that Mountague's (*Arminian*) book had been the occasion of the schisms in the church; yet care was immediately taken, by those of the same robe and party, that he should be the more rewarded and advanced. As also it was in Manwaring's case: who though by censure in parliament made incapable of any ecclesiastical preferment, was straight made rector of Stamford-Rivers in Essex, with a dispensation to hold too his living in St. Giles's. And all dexterity was practised to propagate the same opinions; and to suppress all writings or discourses to the contrary.

So that those who were of understanding in those dayes tell me, that a man would wonder to have heard their kind of preachings. How instead of the practical doctrine which tends to the reforming of mens lives and manners, all their sermons were a very mash of Arminian subtilties, of ceremonies and decency, and of Manwaring, and Sibthorpianism brewed together, besides that in their conversation they thought fit to take some more license, the better

to *dis-ghibelene* themselves from the puritans. And though there needed nothing more to make them unacceptable to the sober part of the nation, yet moreover they were so exceeding pragmatical, so intolerably ambitious, and so desperately proud, that scarce any gentleman might come near the tail of their mules. And many things I perceive of that nature, do even yet stick upon the stomachs of the old gentlemen of those times. For the English have been alwaies very tender of their religion, their liberty, their propriety, and (I was going to say) no less of their reputation. Neither yet do I speak of these things with passion, considering at more distance how natural it is for men to desire to be in office ; and no less natural to grow proud and intractable in office ; and the less a clergyman is so, the more he deserves to be commended. But these things before mentioned, grew yet higher, after that Bishop Laud was once not only exalted to the See of Canterbury, but to be chief Minister. Happy had it been for the King, happy for the nation, and happy for himself, had he never climbed that pinnacle. For whether it be or no, that the clergy are not so well fitted by education as others for political affairs, I know not ; though I should rather think they have advantage above others, and even if they would but keep to their Bibles, might make the best ministers of state in the world ; yet it is generally observed that things miscarry under their government. If there be any counsel more precipitate, more violent,

lent, more rigorous, more extreme than other, that is theirs. Truly I think the reason that God does not bless them in affairs of state, is, because he never intended them for that employment. Or if government, and the preaching of the gospel, may well concur in the same person, God therefore frustrates him, because, though knowing better, he seeks and manages his greatness by the lesser and meaner maxims. I am confident the Bishop studied to do both God and his Majesty good service, but alas, how utterly was he mistaken! Though so learned, so pious, so wise a man, he seemed to know nothing beyond Ceremonies, Arminianism, and Man-waring. With that he begun, and with that ended, and thereby deformed the whole reign of the best prince that ever wielded the English scepter.

For his late Majesty being a prince truly pious and religious, was thereby the more inclined to esteem and favour the clergy. And thence, though himself of a most exquisite understanding, yet he could not trust it better than in their keeping. Whereas every man is best in his own post, and so the preacher in the pulpit. But he that will do the clergyes drudgery, must look for his reward in another world. For they having gained this ascendent upon him, resolved, whatever became on't, to make their best of him; and having made the whole business of state their Arminian jangles, and the persecution for ceremonies, did for recom-

pence assign him that imaginary absolute government, upon which rock we all ruined.

For now was come the last part of the Archbishop's indiscretion; who having strained those strings so high here, and all at the same time, which no wise man ever did; he moreover had a mind to try the same dangerous experiment in Scotland, and sent thither the Book of the English Liturgy to be imposed upon them. What followed thereupon, is yet within the compass of most mens memories. And how the war broke out, and then to be sure hell's broke loose. Whether it be a war of religion, or of liberty, is not worth the labour to enquire. Which soever was at the top, the other was at the bottome; but upon considering all, I think the cause was too good to have been fought for. Men ought to have trusted God; they ought and might have trusted the King with that whole matter. The arms of the church are prayers and tears, the arms of the subjects are patience and petitions. The King himself being of so accurate and piercing a judgement, would soon have felt where it stuck. For men may spare their pains where nature is at work, and the world will not go the faster for our driving. Even as his present Majesties happy restauration did itself, so all things else happen in their best and proper time, without any need of our officiousness.

But

But after all the fatal consequences of that rebellion, which can only serve as sea-marks unto wise princes to avoid the causes, shall this sort of men still vindicate themselves as the most zealous assertors of the rights of princes? They are but at the best well-meaning zealots. Shall, to decline so pernicious counsels, and to provide better for the quiet of government, be traduced as the author does here, under these odious terms of “forfaking the church, and delivering up the church?” Shall these men alwayes presume to usurp to themselves that venerable stile of the “church of England?” God forbid. The Independents at that rate would have so many distinct congregations as they. There would be Sibthorp’s church, and Manwaring’s church, and Montague’s church, and a whole bead-roll more, whom for decency’s sake I abstain from naming. And every man that could invent a new opinion, or a new ceremony, or a new tax, should be a new church of England.

Neither, as far as I can discern, have this sort of the clergy since his Majesties return, given him better encouragements to steer by their compass. I am told, that preparatory to that, they had frequent meetings in the city, I know not whether in Grub-street, with the divines of the other party, and that there in their Feasts of Love, they promised to forget all former offences, to lay by all animosities, that there should be a new heaven, and a new earth, all meekness,

ness, charity, and condescension. His Majesty I am sure sent over his gracious declaration of liberty to tender consciences, and upon his coming over, seconded it with his commission under the broad seal, for a conference betwixt the two parties, to prepare things for an accommodation, that he might confirm it by his royal authority. Hereupon what do they? notwithstanding this happy conjuncture of his Majesties Restauration, which had put all men into so good a humour, that upon a little moderation and temper of things, the nonconformists could not have stuck out; some of these men so contrived it, that there should not be the least abatement to bring them off with conscience, and (which insinuates into all men) some little reputation. But to the contrary; several unnecessary additions were made, only because they knew they would be more ingrateful and stigmatical to the nonconformists. I remember one in the Litany, where to false doctrine and heresie, they added schism, though it were to spoil the musick and cadence of the period; but these things were the best. To show that they were men like others, even cunning men, revengeful men, they drilled things on, till they might procure a law, wherein, besides all the conformity that had been of former times enacted, there might be some new conditions imposed on those that should have or hold any church livings, such as they assured themselves, that rather than swallow, the nonconformists would disgorge all their benefices.

And

And accordingly it succeeded; several thousands of those ministers being upon one memorable day outed of their subsistence. His Majesty in the mean time, although they had thus far prevailed to frustrate his royal intentions, had reinstated the church in all its former revenues, dignities, advantages, so far from the author's mischievous aspersions of ever thinking of converting them to his own use, that he restored them free from what was due to him by law upon their first admission. So careful was he, "because all government must owe its quiet and continuance to the churches patronage," to pay them, even what they ought. But I have observed, that if a man be in the church's debt once, 'tis very hard to get an acquittance: and these men never think they have their full rights, unless they reign. What would they have had more? they would on a flood of wealth, and yet in matter of a lease, would make no difference betwixt a nonconformist, and one of their own fellow sufferers, who had ventured his life, and spent his estate for the king's service. They were restored to parliament, and to take their places with the king and the nobility. They had a new liturgy to their own hearts desire; and to cumulate all this happiness, they had this new law against the Fanatics. All they had that could be devised in the world to make a clergyman good natured.

Nevertheless after all their former sufferings, and after all these new enjoyments and acquisitions, they have pro-

ceeded

ceeded still in the same track. The matter of ceremonies, to be sure, hath not only exercised their antient rigour and severity, but hath been a main ingredient of their publick discourses, of their sermons, of their writings. I could not (though I do not make it my work after a great example to look over Epistles Dedicatory) but observe by chance the title page of a book t'other day, as an embleme how much some of them do neglect the Scripture in respect to their darling ceremonies. "A Rationale upon the Book of Common-Prayer of the Church of England, by A. Sparrow, D. D. Bishop of Exon. With the form of consecration of a church or chapel, and of the place of Christian Burial. By Lancelot Andrews, late Lord Bishop of Winchester. Sold by Robert Pawlet at the sign of the Bible in Chancery Lane." These surely are worthy cares for the fathers of the church.

But to let these things alone ; how have they of late years demeaned themselves to his Majesty, although our author urges their immediate dependance on the King to be a great obligation he hath upon their loyalty and fidelity ? I have heard that some of them, when a great minister of state grew burdensome to his Majesty and the nation, stood almost in defiance of his Majesties good pleasure, and fought it out to the uttermost in his defence. I have been told that some of them in a matter of divorce, wherein his Majesty

desired that justice might be done to the party aggrieved, opposed him vigorously, though they made bold too with a point of conscience in the case, and went against the judgement of the best divines of all parties. It hath been observed, that whensoever his Majesty hath had the most urgent occasions for supply, others of them have made it their business to trinkle with the members of parliament, for obstructing it, unless the king would buy it with a new law against the fanaticks. And hence it is that the wisdom of his Majesty and the parliament must be exposed to after ages for such a *superfætation* of acts in his reign about the same business. And no sooner can his Majesty upon his own best reasons try to obviate this inconvenience, but our author, who had before outshot Sibthorp and Manwaring in their own bows, is now for retrenching his authority, and moreover calumniates the state with a likelihood, and the reasons thereof, of the return of popery into this nation. And this hath been his first method by the fanaticks raising disturbance: whereupon if I have raked farther into things than I would have done, the author's indiscretion will, I hope, excuse me, and gather all the blame for reviving those things which were to be buried in oblivion. But, by what appears, I cannot see that there is any probability of disturbance in the state, but by men of his spirit and principles.

The second way whereby the fanatick party, he saith, may at last work the ruin of the church, is “by combining with the Atheists, for their union is like the mixture of nitre and charcoal, it carries all before it without mercy or resistance.” So it seems, when you have made gunpowder of the atheists and fanaticks, we are like to be blown up with popery. And so will the larks too. But his zeal spends itself most against the atheists, because they use to “jeer the parsons.” That they may do, and no atheists neither. For really, while clergymen will, having so serious an office, play the drolls and the boon companions, and make merry with the Scriptures, not only among themselves, but in gentlemens company, ’tis impossible but that they should meet with, at least, an unlucky repartee sometimes, and grow by degrees to be a tale, and contempt to the people. Nay, even that which our author always magnifies, the reputation, the interest, the secular grandeur of the church, is indeed the very thing which renders them ridiculous to many, and looks as improper and buffoonish, as to have seen the porter lately in the good Doctor’s cassock and girdle. For, lo they tell me, that there are no where more atheists than at Rome, because men seeing that princely garb and pomp of the clergy, and observing the life and manners, think therefore the meaner of religion. For certainly, the reputation and interest of the clergy, was first gained by abstracting themselves from the

2

world,

world, attending their callings, humility, strictness of doctrine, and the same strictness in conversation: and things are best preserved by the same means they were at first attained. But if our author had been as concerned against atheism, as he is against their disrespect of his function, he should have been content that the fanatick preachers might have spent some of their pulpit sweat upon the atheists, and made a noise in their ears, about faith, communion with God, attendance upon ordinances, which he himself jeers at so pleasantly. Neither do I like upon the same reasons his manner of discourse with the atheists, where he complains that ours are not like those good atheists of former times, who never did thrust themselves into publick cares and concerns, “minding nothing but love, wine, and
 “poetry.” Nor in another place, “put the case the clergy
 “were cheats and juglers, yet it must be allowed they are
 “necessary instruments of state to awe the common people
 “into fear and obedience, because nothing else can so ef-
 “fectually inflave them (’tis this it seems our author would
 be at) as the fear of invisible powers, and the dismal
 “apprehensions of the world to come: and for this very
 “reason, though there were no other, it is fit they should
 “be allowed the same honour and respect, as would be
 “acknowledged their due, if they were sincere and honest
 “men.” No atheist could have said better. How mendicant a cause has he here made of it; they will say, they

fee where the shoe wrings him, and that though this be some ingenuity in him, yet it is but little policy. Nay, perhaps they will say, that they are no atheists neither, but only, I know not by what fate, every day, one or other of the clergy does, or faith, some so ridiculous and foolish thing, or some so pretty accident befalls them, that in our author's words, a "man must be very splenetick that can refrain from laughter." I would have quoted the page here, but that the author has, I think for evasion sake, omitted to number them in this whole preface. But whether there be any atheists or no, which I question more than witches, I do not, for all this, take our author to be one, though some would conclude it out of his principles, others out of his expressions. Yet really, I think he hath done that sort of men so much service in his books, by his ill handling, and while he personates one party, making all religion ridiculous, that they will never be able to requite him but in the same manner. He hath opened them a whole treasure of words and sentences, universally applicable; where they may rifle or chuse things, which their pitiful wit, as he calls it, would never have been able to invent and flourish. But truly, as the simple parliament 5^o Eliz. never imagined what consequence that clause in the Wednesday Fast would have to puritanism, neither did he what his periods would have to atheism; and yet though he is so more excusable, I hope I may have the same leave on him,

as he on that parliament, to censure his impertinence. To close this ; I know a lady that chid her master of the horse, for correcting a page that had sworn a great oath. For, saith she, “ The boy did therein shew only the generosity
 “ of his courage, and his acknowledgment of a Deity.” And indeed, he hath approved his religion, and justified himself from atheism much after the same manner.

The third way and last (which I, being tired, am very glad of) by which the fanaticks may raise disturbances, and so introduce popery, is by joining crafty and sacrilegious statemen into the confederacy. But really here he doth speak concerning King and counsellors at such a rate, and describe and characterize some men so, whomsoever he intends, that though I know there are no such, I dare not touch, it is too hazardous. ’Tis true he passes his compliment ill-favouredly enough. “ The church has at present an impregnable affi-
 “ ance in the wisdom, &c. of so gracious a prince, that is
 “ not capable of such counsels, should they be suggested to
 “ him : though certainly no man that is worthy to be ad-
 “ mitted to his Majesties favour or privacy, can be supposed
 “ so fool-hardy or presumptuous as to offer such weak and
 “ dishonourable advice to so wise and able a prince ; yet
 “ princes are mortal, and if ever hereafter, (and some time
 “ or other it must happen) the crown should chance to set-
 “ tle upon a young and unexperienced head, this is usually
 “ the

“ the first thing in which such princes are abused by their
 “ keepers and guardians, &c.” But this compliment is no
 better at best, than if discoursing with a man of another, I
 should take him by the beard. Upon such occasions in
 company, we use to ask, Sir, whom do you mean? I am
 sure our author takes it alwayes for granted, that his answerer
 intends him upon more indefinite and less direct provoca-
 tions. But our author does even personate some men as
 speaking at present against the church, “ They will intangle
 “ your affairs, indanger your safety, hazard your crown.
 “ All the reward you shall have to compensate your misfor-
 “ tunes, by following church counsels, shall be that a few
 “ churchmen, or such like people, shall cry you up for a
 “ faint or a martyr.” Still *your, your*, as if it were a close
 discourse unto his Majesty himself. Though if these were
 the worst that they said, or that the author fathers upon
 them, I wish the King might never have better counsellors
 about him. But if the author be secure, for the present, ~~in~~
 his Majesties reign, fears not popery, not forsaking the
 church, not assuming the church revenues, why is he so
 provident? why put things in men’s heads they never thought
 of? why stir such an odious, seditious, impertinent, unsea-
 sonable discourse? why take this very minute of time, but
 that he hath mischief, to say no worse, in his heart? He had
 no such remote conceit (for all his talk) of an infant coming
 to the crown. He is not so weak but he knows too much,
 and

and is too well instructed, to speak to so little purpose. That would have been like a set of Elfibeth players, that in the country having worn out and over acted all the playes they brought with them from London, laid their wits together to make a new one of their own. No less man than Julius Cæsar was the argument ; and one of the chief parts was Moses perswading Julius Cæsar not to make war against his own countrey, nor pass the Rubicon. If our author did not speak of our present times (to do which nevertheless had been sufficiently false and absurd) but writ all this meerly out of his providence for after-ages ; I shall no more call him Bayes, for he is just such a second Moses. I ask pardon if I have said too much, but I shall deserve none, if I meddle any further with so improbable and dangerous a business.

To conclude, the author gives us one ground more, and perhaps more seditiously insinuated than any of the former ; that is, if “ it should so prove,” that is, if the “ fanaticks, “ by their wanton and unreasonable opposition to the ingenious and moderate discipline of the church of England, “ shall give their governours too much reason to suspect that “ they are never to be kept in order by a milder and more “ gentle government than that of the church of Rome, and “ force them at last to scourge them into better manners, “ with the briars and thorns of their discipline.” It seems then that the discipline contended about, is worth such an alteration.

alteration. It seems that he knows something more than I did believe of the design in the late times before the war. Whom doth he mean by our governours? the King? No, for he is a single person. The Parliament, or the Bishops.

I have now done, after I have (which is I think due) given the reader, and the author a short account how I came to write this book, and in this manner. First of all, I was offended at the presumption and arrogance of his stile; whereas there is nothing either of wit, or eloquence in all his books, worthy of a reader's, and more unfit for his own, taking notice of. Then his infinite tautology was burdensome, which seemed like marching a company round a hall upon a pay-day so often, till if the muster-master were not attentive, they might receive the pay of a regiment. All the variety of his treat is *pork* (he knows the story) but so little disguised by good cookery, that it discovers the miserableness, or rather the penury of the host. When I observed how he inveighs against the *trading part* of the nation, I thought he deserved to be within the *five mile act*, and not to come within that distance of any corporation. I could not patiently see how irreverently he treated kings and princes, as if they had been no better than *King Phys* and *King Ush of Brantford*. I thought his profanation of the Scripture intolerable; for though he alledges that 'tis only in order to shew how it was misapplied by the fanatics, he

he might have done that too, and yet preserved the dignity and reverence of those sacred writings, which he hath not done; but on the contrary, he hath, in what is properly his own, taken the most of all his ornaments, and imbellishments thence in a scurrilous and sacrilegious stile; insomuch that were it honest, I will undertake out of him to make a better, that is, a more ridiculous and profaner book, than all the Friendly Debates bound up together. Methought I never saw a more bold and wicked attempt, than that of reducing grace, and making it a meer fable, of which he gives us the moral. I was sorry to see that even prayer could not be admitted to be a virtue, having thought hitherto it had been a grace, and a peculiar gift of the Spirit; but I considered, that that prayer ought to be discouraged, in order to prefer the liturgy. He seemed to speak so little like a divine in all those matters, that the poet might as well have pretended to be the Bishop Davenant, and that description of the poet's of prayer and praise was better than our author's on the same subject. Canto the 6th, where he likens prayers to the Ocean.

“ For prayer the Ocean is where diversly

“ Men steer their course each to a several coast,

“ Where all our interests so discordant lye,

“ That half beg winds, by which the rest are lost.”

And praise he compares to the union of fanaticks and atheists, &c. that is, gunpowder ; “ praise is devotion fit for mighty minds, &c.”

“ Its utmost force, like powder, is unknown.

“ And though weak kings excess of praise may fear,

“ Yet when ’tis here, like powder, dangerous grown,

“ Heavens vault receives, what would the palace tear,”

Indeed all Astragen appeared to me the better scheme of religion. But it is unnecessary here to recapitulate all, one by one, what I have in the former discourse taken notice of. I shall only add, what gave, if not the greatest, yet the last impulse to my writing. I had observed in his first book page 57, that he had said “ some pert and pragmatical divines had filled the world with a buzze and noise of the “ Divine Spirit ;” which seemed to me so horribly irreverent, as if he had taken similitude from the hum and buz of the humble bee in the Rehearsal.

In the same book, I have before mentioned, that most unsafe passage of our “ Saviour, being not only in an hot “ fit of zeal, but in a seeming fury and transport of passion.” And striving to unhook himself hence, page 152 of his second book, swallows it deeper, saying, “ Our Blessed Saviour “ did in that action take upon him the person, and privilege of a Jewish zealot.” Take upon him the person, that

that is, *personam induere*. And what part did he play? of a Jewish zealot.

The second Person of the Trinity (may I repeat these things without offence) to take upon him the person of a Jewish zealot, that is, of a notorious rogue and cut-throat!

This seemed to proceed from too slight an apprehension and knowledge of the duty we owe to our Saviour. And last of all, in this preface, as before quoted, he saith, the “nonconformist preachers do spend most of their pulpit sweat in making a noise about communion with God.” So that there is not one Person of the Trinity that he hath not done despite to: and lest he should have distinct communion with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for which he mocks his answerer; he hath spoken evil distinctly of the Father, distinctly of the Son, and distinctly of the Holy Ghost. That only remained behind, wherein our author might surpass the character given to Aretine, a famous man of his faculty.

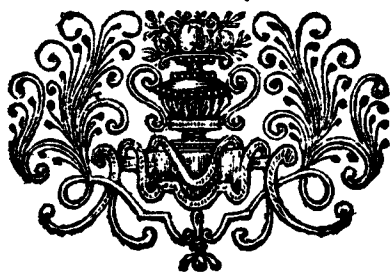
*Qui giace il Aretino,
Chi de tutti mal disse fuor da Dio:
Ma di questo si scusa, perche no'l conobbe.*

“Here lies Aretine,

“Who spoke evil of all, except God only,

“But of this he begs excuse, because he did not know him.”

And now I have done. And I shall think myself largely recompensed for this trouble, if any one that hath been formerly of another mind, shall learn by this example, that it is not impossible to be merry and angry as long time as I have been writing, without profaning and violating those things which are and ought to be most sacred.



THE
REHEARSAL TRANSPROSED.
THE SECOND PART.

OCCASIONED BY
TWO LETTERS:

The first printed by a nameless Author, intituled,

A REPROOF, ETC.

The Second Letter left for me at a Friend's House, dated November 3, 1673,
subscribed J. G. and concluding with these words:

“If thou darest to print or publish any Lie or Libel against Doctor PARKER,
by the Eternal God I will cut thy Throat.”

If you have any thing to object against it, do your worst. You know the Press is open.

Licensed the 1st of May 1673.

REPROOF page 67.
By the Author and Licensor of the ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

ANSWERED
By ANDREW MARVELL.

L O N D O N :

Printed for NATHANIEL PONDER, at the PEACOCK, in Chancery-lane, near Fleet-street.

MDC LXXIII.

T H E

REHEARSAL TRANSPROSED:

P A R T II.

TH E author of the Ecclesiastical Polity (why not Doctor Sermon ?) doubts, with some reason, whether he has not in that study “lost his understanding *.” To convince himself therefore and others of the contrary, he attempts to shew here at the beginning, that he not only knows as yet what he does, but remembers still the very circumstances of his actions. He tells me : “I had heard from him sooner had he not, immediately after he undertook my correction, been prevented by a dull and lazy distemper ; but being now recruited, &c. †” Sooner or later imports not, it comes much to the same account. No naturalist has determined the certain time of a mountain’s pregnancy, how long it goes before it be delivered : but one has told us what kind of child it always produces. And as for his dull and lazy distemper, the courtesie was no less superfluous to inform me of what most men have been long since fully satisfied upon undeniable testimony. What is the world

* The last line of his preface to the Reproof.

† Reproof page 1.

world concerned in the revolutions of his health, or the courses of physick that he runs through at spring and fall? Plutarch indeed gives us the minutes of Alexander the Great's sickness after his last debauch; and the Dutch historian Aytzema is so punctual in the late Prince of Orange's malady, as even to chronicle in Folio what days he did *excernere dura*, when *fætida*, and when *fæces laudabiles*. What then? must it therefore follow that this Orange doctor, by having commenced in this prince's train, is grown so considerable, that the temper of his mind, the juncture of his affairs, and the state of his body should be transmitted to posterity? that after-ages must read in what moon his invention was fluent, and in what *Epocha*, coſtive? that as in his late preface he entered his Cloſer Importance upon record, ſo in this voluminous pamphlet his cloſe-ſtool too ſhould be regiſtered? but ſuppoſe he were of ſuch moment, he is too hard put to it, and but ill befriended, that he muſt do himſelf that office. Was there not one true Engliſhman left to help him? ungrateful world, that when he has “loſt his labour and underſtand-
“ing *” in writing them an Eccleſiaſtical Polity, would not afford him ſome other pen for his own Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. But he is ſo ſelf-ſufficient, and an *At-all* of ſo many capacities, that he would excommunicate any man who ſhould have preſumed to intermeddle ſo far within his province

* The laſt line of preface to Reproof.

province. Has he been an author? he is too the licenser. Has he been a father? he will stand too for god-father. Is he then to be married? he asks his own banns in print. And now after he thinks himself cured, and in wedding and writing case, he cannot forbear nevertheless but he must be publishing his diseases. Had he acted Pyramus he would have been Moon-shine too, and the Hole in the wall. That first author of Ecclesiastical Polity, Nero, was of the same temper. He could not be contented with the Roman Empire unless he were too his own Præcentor; and he in the same manner, out of meer charity, when he apprehended death, lamented only the detriment that mankind must sustain in losing so considerable a fidler. When a man is once possessed with this fanatick kind of spirit, he imagines, if a shoulder do but itch, that the world has galled it with leaning on it so long, and therefore he wisely shrugs to remove the globe to the other. If he chance but to sneeze, he salutes himself, and courteously prays that the foundations of the earth be not shaken. And even so the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity, ever since he crept up to be but the weathercock of a steeple, he trembles and creaks at every puff of wind that blows him about, as if the Church of England were falling, and the state tottered. And then after men are once come to mistake themselves as so necessary, it is no wonder if they impute it for a great obligation, as oft as they condescend to give the publick an

account of their privacies. There is not any so undecent circumstance of their life but they think it worthy to be committed to paper, and, foul as it is, yet they forthwith send it away to the printer. And now all Christendom doubtless has taken notice that the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity has lain-in of a dull and lazy distemper, and to be sure the ecclesiasticks of his faculty have deeply sympathized with his condition. The news will, after the rebound of some months, reach Constantinople and Agra; and as soon as they hear of his recovery, the Mufti and the Mulla will certainly send to congratulate him. But however he has methinks not dealt so kindly herein with his native country as their universal concernment for him might have deserved. For though indeed there must needs be a mighty profit upon the exportation of his book, and those especially beyond the Line will think it a great advantage to buy the account of his health at any rate with so large a volume into the bargain; yet he might out of gratitude to our curiosity have advertised us at home the cheaper way, by the same gazette in which he cries his book to make it vendible. Whereas the inserting it thus in so thick an octavo, is a most palpable project upon men's affections, and next to imposing his book upon the church-wardens of every parish, and the chapters of all the cathedrals. As well as men love him, yet they desire not that his sickness should be as chargeable to the countrey as a visitation. Nay, even the clergy scruple

ple at the price, and take it ill, that as oft as their Arch-deacon comes abroad again in print, they should be obliged in this manner to pay procurations and synodals. But of all men it falls most severely upon the nonconformists, who having been exhausted with so many other penalties formerly, cannot so well afford to buy their penance so dear, and take off his books every year in commutation. 'Tis true, he has been kind to them, and to such a degree, that he hath done more service to their cause by writing against it, than all their own authors that ever writ for them. But that therefore being so contrary to his intention, the accident diminishes the courtesie. And if yet for old acquaintance sake they could be content to give somewhat for * “a book
 “in some places erroneous, in some places scarce sense,
 “and of ill consequence;” they compute that if “the
 “Reproof to the Rehearsal Transposed, in a discourse to
 “its author, by the author of the Ecclesiastical Policy,” be of the same nature, and at the same price, it is, however, better of the two to buy an English Bible with all its faults. He is returned to be a precious man indeed, more precious than ever heretofore at the university; if since he arose to be the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity, a poor fanatick that has been of his intimacy, cannot be informed how he does under the prodigal expence of five shillings.

H h 2

He

* Gregory, p. 104, concerning the English Bible.

He cannot fure take it unkindly if I enter into a further confultation of the nature of his indisposition, and the remedies ; feeing he has fo voluntarily interefted me therein, and his readers ; for the officious always fpring game to the curious. The difeafe being, as he relates, fo dull and lazy, I fhould think at firft that it might have been a lethargy ; and whereas he imagines himfelf recruited, that he has only in order to a cure (as is ufual in that cafe) been caft into a fever. For he has forgot himfelf moft extreamly, and his whole difcourfe, as proceeding from a man in the confines of two fo contrary diftempers, partakes all thorow equally of ftupidity and raving.

But when I reflect further upon the fymptoms, and his description, it feems more probably to be the *Abelteria*, a Greek difcompofure, and to which thofe of his conftitution are generally fubject. The malignity of this affects the mind rather than the body, and therefore lies further beyond the reach of phyfick. When once it takes a man he is defperate, and there is no more poffibility of his recovery ; nor is that ftrange, it being the property of thofe that have it, by how much they grow worfe, to conceive always that they are in a better condition.

Some indeed will have it, that under thofe terms of a dull and lazy diftemper, he calumniates a more active and ftirring difeafe, (as the fpleen and the fcurvy do oftentimes bear the
blame

blame of another infirmity) and that it is no Grecian malady, but derives its name from a countrey much nearer. But that * “ distemper is so unsuitable to the civility of his education, and the gravity of his profession,” that I question much whether it could be so clownish and licentious (bold though it be) to accost a personage of his figure and character. Yet who knows after that new alliance in the year 1665, betwixt nature and divinity, that amorous season of his *Tentamina Physico-Theologica*, (if he were the author) whether his nature may not have given his divinity the slip, and running its own random, have met with some misadventure? For even then he had learnt how † Aristotle worshipped his wench under shew of sacrificing to a goddess. He informed us so early, how ‡ Stilpo disputing before the Areopagites, that Minerva could not be a God, because she was a woman, and therefore a goddess; Theodorus somewhat smuttily asked him, whether he had seen her without her shift. And this repartee of Theodorus he recommends there for so ingenious, that he ranks it among his colours, why that philosopher, who called himself God, should not be counted an atheist; though I can scarce discern any more wit or theology in it, than in his own argument lately among a knot of eminent divines, the women being present; that the rest of the clergymens wives were but dish-clouts, his own a goddess; and they had been perfectly quit, had
but

* Reproof, p. 1.

† Tent. Phys. p. 2.

‡ Idem, p. 14.

but Stilpo now *capped* Theodorus, by telling him that they were all however no more than needed to scowre his mouth after so slovenly a comparison. In the same book he demonstrates at large how impossible it was (though Epicurus his opinion) for mankind to be produced at first from certain vesicles or pimples of the earth *. You would wonder to see how solidly and elaborately, with what dint of reason he confutes so dangerous an heresy, to the great instruction, doubtless, and advantage of Sir John Hinton, and Doctor Chamberlain †. Then he takes their office out of their hands, and proceeds immediately to read a publick lecture of the figure and use of the vessels of generation, and more especially those of the female ‡. Like a forward chick, he pecks through Doctor Harvey's egg-shell, and tells us that most famous physician was not so cunning as he should have been in the chief mystery of the seminal business ||. At last this blushing gentleman, this very picture of modesty, in open terms undertakes to explain the § pleasure annexed to the act of procreation, and is so tickled with the imagination (presaging too perhaps, that it might ere long be his fortune to dine with a God, (so he stiles the Archbishop) and bed a Goddess, (so he calls his mistress) that although he censures Lucretius for speaking so broad, yet he cannot refrain from using his own words; "that 'twas so exceeding
 " lively

* Tent. Phys. from p. 68, to p. 77, and p. 112.
 to p. 108. ‡ Idem, p. 106. || Reproof, p. 227.

† Idem, from p. 99,
 § Tent. Phys. p. 108.

“ fively fweet, as to be the folace not only of mankind, but
 “ the Deities *.” And all this ftir is there made by the pre-
 fent author of the Ecclefiaftical Polity, in order, forfooth, to
 prove God’s providence, as if that could not be, or were not
 fufficiently evidenced without his goffiping collections of
 naked midwifery. Infomuch that one who underftood not
 beyond his Latine, might juftly doubt, whether by the *Ten-
 tamina Phyfico-Theologica*, he meant indeed the effays of his
 divinity, or the temptations of his nature. Neither can it
 in reafon feem ftange if the vigorous and frequent contem-
 plation of fuch objects transported him further, and her too,
 as well as other creatures might (to ufe his own phrafe)
 “ out of that vehement and unbridled concupifcence, ruft
 “ *in furias ignemque †*” thorow fire and water upon a dan-
 gerous experiment againft the “ pimples of the earth and
 “ Paracelfus his limbeck ‡”. For he himfelf in a fucceed-
 ing book (faid to be his) || the Cenfure of the Platonick
 Philofophy, confeffes, “ that if in any refpect virtue and
 “ religion intrench upon the liberty of our natures, ’tis in the
 “ instances of fenfuality ; and that when the man is divided
 “ from the beaft, and his reafon feparated from the inferiour
 “ and brutifh appetites, then arife irregular and unreafon-
 “ able defires, &c.” fo that by his own acknowledgment, it
 is not impoffible but the man in him may at fome time have
 been

* *Divum hominumque voluptas.*

‡ Tent. Phyf. p. 73.

† Tent. Phyf. p. 105.

|| Cenf. Plat. Phil. p. 111.

been obliged to carry the brute a pick-a-pack. Only there is this difference betwixt his beast and others, that his mind, it seems, is more subject to irregular and unreasonable desires when abstracted within itself; whereas the reason of other men suffers most in conjunction with the inferiour and brutish appetites. So that although in the same book he magnifies those spruce gentlemen the Platonists, * “as being
 “professedly the most generous contemners of women in
 “the world;” and affirms, “that their amours (for they
 “were accused of sodomy) were not kindled by lust and
 “petulancy, but were pure and cleanly enough to become
 “angels and separated souls;” though in the usual pompous explication of his own perfections he glories, † “that he
 “hath tasted less of sensual delights than he thinks any one
 “placed in the said circumstances and capacities; for he
 “hath hitherto scarce employed any of his senses but that of
 “seeing;” notwithstanding all those preventive insinuations, I see no reason to trust him further than I would the curate of Ikham, with his maid Mary Parker. But I rather suspect that where he stops short in the career of a sentence, ‡ “that he thinks nothing concerns him so much as those
 “designs that aspire to serve his dearest”—the rest was bawdy. For though he were on the rode to Canterbury, let any female but cross his way, ’tis odds that his beast will stumble, and throw his Archdeaconship in the cart-rut, with
 his

* Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 19.

† Idem, p. 15.

‡ Idem, p. 123.

his whole tridentine portmantle of polity and theology. Yet though I speak these things with some certainty, to evidence them to others would require a more difficult scrutiny. For whatsoever 'twas that befell him, he has been so concerned of late to stop all avenues, and every cranny of intelligence, that were he to pass through the discipline of sweating, there could not have been more strictness about the doors and the windows. And then his physicians, on the other side, are shut up as close by the obligation of their faculty, having all of them sworn secrecy to Hippocrates. Neither is it indeed at first sight probable that, if he were so obnoxious to them, one of so sweet a nature should so openly declare himself against the nonconformists. Had he been cured by a Jew, so great a prince as the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity would surely, either out of his clemency or his wisdom, have been gracious to the whole tribe; and for his doctor's sake, have at least connived at their synagogue. He is not the first that *Phys.* has whispered out of his kingdom *: and yet if he thought the matter once secured from discovery, I question much whether any other tie could hold him. For I know none so loose from all the restrictions of humanity as some within his girdle; and were there a court of faculties for that purpose, he could not take out more ample dispensations from common ingenuity and gratitude. So that there could not have been more con-

formity betwixt the person and the disease, and an implacable divine could never be better fitted, than with that distemper which his * Italian author can tell him does sometimes make truce, but never admits a pacification. But he is, I perceive, a very secret one, in another sense than formerly, and perhaps did only publish his malady, the better to disguise it : so that I will not out of respect press this point further. If he should by giving so partial an account fail of a cure, he is the more excusable ; for it will have been the first time that his modesty did him prejudice. Yet this caution, for humanity's sake, I would leave with him ; that he trust not too much to the ass's milk in his Hicrington's Dispensatory † ; for every one knows, that if he have no better specifick, he will ever and anon be troubled with the reliques.

But whatever old mischief may possibly lurk in his body, I am told by one, who pretends to the best intelligence, that this was a new disease, which spread much through the nation about last autumn. I hear not that any died of it ; and therefore its name is not yet read of in the bills of mortality. To be short, as I am certainly informed, he was sick of the Rehearsal Transposed. Then indeed the Rehearsal Transposed deserved a Reproof, for exceeding its commission. I am sorry if that should occasion a distemper, which

* *Fa tregua ma non mai pace.*

† Gregory, p. 119.

which I ordered as physick; the Rehearſal Transproſed being too only a particular preſcription in his caſe, and not to be applyed to others without ſpecial direction. But ſome curious perſons would be licking at it, and moſt men finding it not diſtaſteful to the palate, it grew in a ſhort time to be of common uſe in the ſhops. I perceive that it wrought a ſenſible alteration in all that took it; but varying in ſome for the better, in others for the worſe, according to the difference of their complexions. Some were ſwoln up to the throat, ſome their heads turned round, and others it made their hearts ach; but all theſe were but a few in number; moſt men found only a little tingling in their ears, and after its greateſt violence, it diſcharged itſelf in an innocent fit of unceſſant laughter. But the greateſt harm it did was to the author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity, for whoſe good it was principally intended: for before he had half taken it, his ſpirits began to fail him, and it put him paſt not only the common drudgeries of preaching and reading prayers, but thoſe other things too which he ſtiles the innocent comforts of human life. So that he laid it by for a conſiderable time, and was reſolved to have taken no more of it; finding it ſo contrary to his nature. In that interval, his humours being ſtirred, the predomineering choler in a ſhort time diffuſed itſelf ſo through his body eccleſiaſtick, that it ſtruck him into a deep jaundice; and his ſoul ſeemed to have ſet up a gilt vehicle of the new lacker. The great little animal was

on a sudden turned so yellow, and grown withal so unwieldy, that he might have past current for the elephant upon a guinea. For as he had long since foretold, * “having been “so inconsiderate as to write books, and fallen so lately under the severe lash of one that knew him not,” it was his concurring misfortune to be now “exposed to the severer “commands of those that knew him.” The cause was at present much altered from what in his preface to Bishop Bramhall, and over and above the importunity of the book-seller, he was now obliged to write in canonical obedience. But his yellow coif rendered him very unfit to appear in publick, and being troubled thus with the jaundice, and under a necessity of exercising at the same time all the remainders yet left him of reason, wit, or invention, ’tis probable that he found indeed cause to complain of a dull and lazy distemper, and now too late repented, “that he had sold himself “into so great a slavery †.” However, having driven himself into that condition, he must now needs go through with his task; and therefore the time too being limited, he hastened to bring himself in plight by such common remedies as were next to hand, writing too all the while by girds and snatches hand over head. His other self Hicringill (who seems very well informed of all his distempers, and of this particularly) had told him that a louse was good against the jaundice, and the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity himself had

* Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 1.

† Idem, p. 1.

had for all events the * Sacrament of Loufiness by him of his own preparation : so that this being much easier to be procured than the tribute of fleas was to be collected, there is no doubt to be made, but that he tryed the virtue of this medicine. And as the Tartars cracking the same vermin with their teeth, are used to wish solemnly, that they had their enemies at the like advantage ; so methinks I see how he snapped them ere they got down, and ever and anon prayed betwixt the teeth for the nonconformists. But he had heard how his old acquaintance Doctor Rabelais, upon examination for his degree, answered, that if his Gargantua were sick, he would prescribe him *pilulas evangelicas, ex centum libris aloes & myrrhæ*. He computed thence, that in his own case the dose must be proportionable betwixt the civil and the ecclesiastical giant. And if so, that though all prisons should be depopulated, though Beggars-bush pilaged, though the *phthiriasis* of all former persecutors revived, yet the quantity would not be sufficient ; but as once the incense of all Arabia was spent on one funeral, so the lice of all the world must be consumed upon his malady : but what he most considered was, that this must necessarily end in an utter dissolution of the government of the Phthirophagi, and that contrary to all good Ecclesiastical Polity, the Presidents of the sacred Rites (for the other orders of men 'twas less matter)

* Reproof, p. 112.

ter) should, in reference to his cure, be deprived of that lean and slender subsistence which was yet left them. This would have been a sacrilege greater, because more universal, than to have rifled the louse out of St. Francis his bosom. So that upon this Algebra and prospect, he desisted at last from the lousy diet, partly out of his good nature, partly out of his conscience, and partly out of impossibility. And had he at the same time betaken himself in good earnest to the *Extractum Apostoli* of Faith, Hope, and Charity, as a Succedaneum, (for even his second Rabelais *, Doctor Hicringill, renders them equivalent to a louse) he had been certainly cured both mind and body. But some doubt there is that his † Shop Divines have not the right composition of that medicine. However, he was not now in case or disposition to take it; and the Rehearsal Transposed, which after many a grimace he had now at last gulp'd down, had so terribly disordered him, that he had quite forgot there was any such remedy in the ancient Praxis of Christianity ‡. But this gentleman of “so tame,” if you will believe him, “and softly an humour, of so cold
 “a complexion, that he scarce thinks himself capable of hot
 “and passionate impressions;” he that is only offended at
 “them || who will not suffer themselves to be embraced by
 “those whose unbounded embraces would comprehend
 “all,” and *quanquam alias præmitis sit indolis* §, was altered
 beyond

* Gregory, p. 93.

† Reproof, p. 21.

‡ Pref. to Eccl. Pol. p. 1.

|| Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 25.

§ Tent. Phys. p. 109.

beyond all imagination. I cannot determine whether I being but a new unlicensed practitioner, and the Rehearsal Transposed my first experiment, there might be some error in the preparation, and it were too strong of the mineral, or whether indeed it were the extraordinary foulness of his stomach. But it hath brought up such ulcerous stuff as never was seen ; and whereas I intended it only for a Diaphoretick to cast him into a breathing sweat, it hath had upon him all the effects of a vomit. Turnep-tops, frogs, rotten eggs, brass-coppers, grasshoppers, pins, mushrooms, &c. wrapt up together in such balls of slime and choler, that they would have burst the dragon, and in good earnest seem to have something supernatural. Insomuch that he seems not so fit at present for the Archdeacon's seat, as to take his place below in the church among the *Energumeni*. But it is possible that after so notorious an evacuation, he may do better for the future ; and it is more than visible that either his disease or his nature cannot hold out much longer. Therefore I shall not grudge from time to time to lend him my best assistance, though I hope that this iteration will do his business, and carry off all the dregs of his distemper. And now from what I have said hitherto, and that I may begin so far an accommodation betwixt us, I shall, if he please, recant, and yield that the " asswaging his concupiscence, and wreaking his malice, has been the highest " pinnacle of his Ecclesiastical Infelicity."

Having

Having treated him in as short a method as so chronical a malady would admit, I shall now be enforced to remove some dirt, that I may make my way cleaner to come at him : for otherwise there is no passing ; but then I shall quickly have dispatched with him. He saith, * “ I have cowardly
 “ and dishonourably accosted him in such a clownish and
 “ licentious a way of writing, as I knew to be unsuitable
 “ both to the civility of his education, and the gravity of
 “ his profession.” I thought I had in the close of my former book, and all thorow, sufficiently satisfied him of the reasons and way of my proceeding with him : but seeing he hath it seems so soon forgot them (as men willingly do, what it is grievous to remember) I shall now at more leisure refresh his memory, and deduce the order of my thoughts upon that and this occasion.

Those that take upon themselves to be writers, are moved to it either by ambition or charity : imagining that they shall do therein something to make themselves famous, or that they can communicate something that may be delightful and profitable to mankind. But therefore it is either way an envious and dangerous employment. For, how well soever it be intended, the world will have some pretence to suspect, that the author hath both too good a conceit of his own sufficiency, and that by undertaking to teach them, he implicitly accuses their ignorance. So that not to write at all

all is much the safer course of life : but if a man's fate or genius prompt him otherwise, 'tis necessary that he be copious in matter, solid in reason, methodical in the order of his work ; and that the subject be well chosen, the season well fixed, and, to be short, that his whole production be matured to see the light by a just course of time, and judicious deliberation. Otherwise, though with some of these conditions, he may, perhaps, attain commendation ; yet without them all he cannot deserve pardon. For indeed, whosoever he be that comes in print, whereas he might have fate at home in quiet, does either make a treat, or send a challenge to all readers ; in which cases, the first, it concerns him to have no scarcity of provisions, and in the other, to be compleatly armed : for if any thing be amiss on either part, men are subject to scorn the weakness of the attack, or laugh at the meanness of the entertainment. In conclusion, the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity hath in his own particular very fully stated and comprehended this whole matter. For he saith here in his preface to the reader, that * “ if his book have “ any effect” (I suppose he means any good effect) “ he hath “ a double reward ;” (that is, both the publick and his private satisfaction) “ but if it have none” (that is impossible) “ that then he hath his own reward ;” (that is sure to be accounted none of the wisest) and indeed this reward too is double ; for if he fails of his design, he saith † “ he must

VOL. II. K k “ confess

* Preface to Reply, P. penult.

† Idem, p. ult.

“ confess that he hath lost his labour and his understanding.” This is the common-condition to which every man that will write a book must be content with patience to submit.

But, among all the differences of writing, he that does publish an invective, does it at his utmost peril, and 'tis but just that it should be so. For a man's credit is of so natural and high concernment to him, that the preserving of it better, was perhaps none of the least inducements at first to enter into the bonds of society and civil government; as that government too must at one time or other be dissolved where mens reputation cannot be under security. 'Tis dearer than life itself; and (to use a thought something perhaps too delicate, yet not altogether unreasonable) if beside the laws of murder, men have thought fit, out of respect to humane nature, that whatsoever else moves to the death of man should be forfeit to pious uses, why should there not as well be Deodands for reputation? And this I intend not only of those who publish ignominious falsehoods, to whom no quarter ought to be granted, but even of such partly, who by a truth too officious shall procure any man's infamy. For 'tis better that evil men should be left in an undisturbed possession of their repute, how unjustly soever they may have acquired it, than that the exchange and credit of mankind should be universally shaken, wherein the best too will suffer

fer and be involved. It is one thing to do that which is justifiable, but another, that which is commendable ; and I suppose every prudent writer aims at both : but how can the author of an invective, though never so truly founded, expect approbation (unless from such as love to see mischief at other mens expence) who, in a world all furnished with subjects of praise, instruction and learned inquiry, shall studiously chuse and set himself apart to comment upon the blemishes and imperfections of some particular person ? Such men do seldom miss too of *their own reward* : for whereas those that treat of innocent and benign argument, are represented by the Muses, they that make it their business to set out others ill-favouredly, do pass for Satyres, and themselves are sure to be personated with prick-ears, wrinkled horns, and cloven feet.

Yet if for once to write in that stile may be lawful, discreet, or necessary, to do it a second time is liable to greater censure. Not so much because the after-math seldom or never equals the first herbage ; (a caution not unfit however for all authors) as that by-standers will begin then to suspect, that what they looked on first as an accident with some divertisement, does rather proceed from a natural malignity of temper. For few readers are so ill natured but that they are quickly tired with personal and passionate discourses ; and when the contest comes to be continued and

repeated, if they interest themselves at all, they usually incline to think that the justice lies on the weaker side. But whether the last appeal of writers lie to the readers or to a man's own ultimate recollection, this invective way cannot be truly satisfactory either to themselves or others. For it is a prædatory course of life, and indeed but a privateering upon reputation; wherein all that stock of credit, which an honest man perhaps hath all his age been toiling for, is in an hour or two's reading plundered from him by a freebooter. So that whatsoever be the success, he that chances in these contests to be superiour, can at best (for that too is disputable) be accounted of the two the less unfortunate. And certainly (as it was usual of old for any man who had but casually acted in an unlucky rencounter) he that hath had his pen once in the reputation of another, ought to withdraw, and disappear for some time, till he has undergone and past through all the ceremonies of expiation.

But if the credit of all men whatsoever be, and ought to be so well guarded both by nature, law, and discretion, the clergy, certainly of all others, ought to be kept and preserved sacred in their reputation. For they being men of the same spirit with others, and no less subject to human passions, but confined within the regularity of their function; it is indeed unmanly, whatsoever scuffle others may make among themselves, to vilifie or treat them with those affronts, which
nothing

nothing but the respect of decency or conscience could hinder them from resenting as well as others. But (which is more considerable) whoever too shall fix upon them an ill report, does thereby frustrate the very effect of their ministry in proportion. For though baptism is not to be vacated by the contrary intention of him that officiates, yet few men will or can be persuaded by his doctrine, whose practice they conceive to be opposite. A conversation differing from doctrine is spiritual nonsense : neither will men believe by the ear, when their eye informs them otherwise. If an artificer indeed make his work fit for mens wearing, 'tis sufficient : or, if he that sells have good of the kind, men inquire no further. No man's shoe wrings him the more because of the heterodoxy, or the tippling of his shoemaker : and a billet burns as well though bought of whatsoever woodmonger : but the clergy being men dedicate by their vocation to teach what is truth, what falsehood, to deter men from vice, and lead them unto all virtue : 'tis expected from them, and with good reason, that they should define their opinion by their manners. And therefore men ought to be chary of aspersing them on either account, but even reflect upon their failings with some reverence. A clergyman ought to have treble damages both for his tithes and his credit : and it were to be wished that with the same ease that their maintenance comes in from the fruits of mens labour, they had too no less proportion out of the yearly increase of every
man's

man's reputation: the rest would thrive the better for it. Their virtues are to be celebrated with all incouragement: and, if their vices be not notoriously palpable, let the eye, as it defends its organ, so conceal the object by connivance.

And yet nevertheless, and all that has been said before being granted, it may so chance that to write, and that satyrically, and that a second time and a third; and this too even against a clergyman, may be not only excusable, but necessary. That I may spare a tedious recapitulation, I shall prove all the rest upon the strongest instance, that is in the case of a clergyman. For it is not impossible that a man by evil arts may have crept into the church thorow the belfry or at the windows. 'Tis not improbable that having so got in he should foul the pulpit, and afterwards the press with opinions destructive to human society and the Christian religion. That he should illustrate so corrupt doctrines with as ill a conversation, and adorn the lasciviousness of his life with an equal petulancy of style and language. In such a concurrence of misdemeanors what is to be done? Why certainly, how pernicious soever this must be in the example and consequence, yet, before any private man undertake to obviate it, he ought to expect the judgement of the Diocesan, and the method of the ecclesiastical discipline. There was in the ancient times of Christianity a wholesome usage, but now obsolete, which went very far in preventing all these

these occasions. For whosoever was to receive ordination, his name was first published to the congregation, in the same way as the banns of those that enter into matrimony: and if any could object a sufficient cause against him that was proposed, he was not to be admitted to the ministry. He that would be a preacher, was to be first himself commented upon by the people, and in the stile of those ages was said *prædicari*. But since that circumspection has been devolved into the single oversight of the later Bishops, it cannot be otherwise, but some one or other may sometimes escape into the church, who were much fitter to be shut out of doors. Yet then if our great pastors should but exercise the wisdom of common shepherds, by parting with one to stop the infection of the whole flock, when his rottenness grew notorious; or if our clergy would but use the instinct of other creatures, and chace the blown deer out of their herd, such mischiefs might quickly be remedied. But on the contrary it happens not seldom that this necessary duty (which is so great a part of true Ecclesiastical Politie) is not only neglected, but that persons so dangerous are rather encouraged by their superiours, and he that upon their omission shall but single out one of them, yet shall be exposed to the general outcry of the faculty, and be pursued with bell, book, and candle, as a declared and publick enemy of the clergy. Whereas they ought to consider that by this way of proceeding, they themselves do render that universal which was but individual,

individual, and affix a personal crime upon their whole order ; and, for want of separating from one obnoxious, do contribute to the causes of separation, justifying so far that schism which they condemn. In this case, and supposing such a failure of justice in those whose province it is to prevent or punish, I ask again, what is to be done ? Why, certainly the next thing had been to admonish him in particular, as a friend does his friend, or one Christian another. But he that hath once printed an ill book, has thereby condensed his words on purpose, lest they should be carried away by the wind ; he has diffused his poyson so publickly, in design that it might be beyond his own recollection ; and put himself deliberately past the reach of any private admonition. In this case it is that I think a clergyman is laid open to the pen of any one that knows how to manage it ; and that every person who has either wit, learning, or sobriety, is licensed, if debauched, to curb him ; if erroneous, to catechize him ; and if foul-mouthed and biting, to muzzle him. For they do but abuse themselves who shall any longer consider or reverence such an one as a clergyman, who as oft as he undresses, degrades himself, and would never have come into the church but to take sanctuary. Rather, wheresoever men shall find the footing of so wanton a satyr out of his own bounds, the neighbourhood ought, notwithstanding all his pretended capering divinity, to hunt him thorow the woods with hounds and horn home to his harbour.

How

How far and whether at all the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie is culpable on these accounts, I must refer to the readers judgment upon perusal of my first and this my second book, though I could much rather wish that men would be at leisure to take the length of him out of his own discourses. But, had he not appeared so to me, I should never have molested him, adventured myself, or interested the publick by writing in this manner. For I am too conscious of mine own imperfections to rake into and dilate upon the failings of other men ; and though I carry always some ill nature about me, yet it is I hope no more than is in this world necessary for a preservative ; but as for the clergy, the memory of mine own extraction, and much more my sense of the sanctity of their function ingage me peculiarly to esteem and honour them. Insomuch that for their sakes I bear much respect even to their poor wives, of whom I may say (as Bishop Bramhall comparing the readers with the preachers, and who understood both) that “ if they come short of other women in point of efficacy, “ yet they have the advantage of other women in point of “ security *”. And though I am not so inamoured of them as to worship them for Goddesses ; yet I am so far from rejecting them as Dish-clouts, that what the author of Ecclesiastical Politie † affirms of the clergy of the church of England, I dare averre concerning their wives, “ that

VOL. II. L 1 “ taking

* Bishop Bramhall's Vindication, page 160, 161.

† Preface to Bishop Bramhall, page 41.

“ taking them under all their disadvantages they are at this very
 “ time vastly the furthest off from being justly contemptible
 “ (to mention no other order or profession of women) of
 “ any clergymen’s wives in the world. The pre-eminence is
 “ so evident that it clears the comparison from all possible
 “ suspicion of being proud or odious.”

Being of this temper there could be no great appearance
 of my being over forward to come out in print in such a stile
 against one of his cloth, unless upon some very extraordinary
 occasion. And such this occasion seemed to me, and
 so urgent and justifiable that it might absolve me in any rea-
 ders opinion. For this sharpness of stile does indeed for the
 most part naturally flow from the humour of the writer :
 and therefore ’tis observable that few are guilty of it but ei-
 ther those that write too young, (when it resembles the acidity
 of juices strained from the fruits before they be matured) or
 else those that write too old (and then it is like the sourness
 of liquors which being near corrupting turn eager) and both
 these are generally disrelished : or if men do admit them
 for sauce, yet he must be very thirsty that will take a draught
 of them ; whereas the generourest wine drops from the
 grape naturally without pressing, and though piquant hath
 its sweetness. And though I cannot arrogate so much as
 even the similitude of those good qualities to my writing,
 yet I dare say that never was there a more pregnant ripeness in
 the causes. For having read one, two, three, and now four
 books

books of the same author, and of the same subject, which was no less than that weighty matter of Ecclesiastical Politie and all its dependances, I observed first, that there was no name to them; a thing of very ill example. For every one that will treat of so nice and tender argument ought to affix his name, thereby to make himself responsible to the publick for any damage that may arise by his undertaking. Otherwise though he has a license in his pocket, or be perhaps the licenser, it is but a more authorised way of libelling; and it looks too like a man that shall lay a train of gunpowder, and then retire to some obscure place from whence, after he has applied his match, he may solace himself with the mischief; or though it be not so designed, yet the effect is not more probably to stop a flame than to propagate it, and instead of preserving, to subvert and blow up the government; whereas if men were obliged to leave that anonymous and sculking method both of writing and licensing, they would certainly grow more careful what opinions they vented, what expressions they used, and we might have missed many books that have of late come out by the same authority contrary to all good manners, and even to the doctrine of our church under which they take protection. Had there been no other cause but this, it might have sufficed, and when Ecclesiastical Politie * marched Incognito, and Theology went on mumming, it was no less allowable

L 1 2

for

* Preface to Ecclesiastical Politie, page 16. Let the author of the Friendly Debate be careful how he lays aside his vizor.

for any one to use the license of masquerade to show him, and the rest of them the consequence of such practice.

But beside this, when I perused his books, and others of the same pattern, I saw that they plainly incroached upon other mens vocations, and that a sort of divines, among whom he alwayes acted the highest parts, had clanned together to set up above those of the King and Duke a new company of comedians *. Such was their dramattick and scenical way of scribbling, and they did so teem with new plays perpetually, that there was no post nor pillar so sacred that was exempt, no not even the walls of Paul's itself, much less the Temple gate, from the pasting up of the titles. Inso-much that I have seen a lacquey that could not read, having been sent to take down the play for the afternoon, has by mistake brought away the title of a new book of theology. Yet if they did it well, they might perhaps in time get some custom ; but alas those great men in the pulpit how ridiculous do they appear on a stage ! and he that has all his life been cramped in a reading pew, at what a loss must he be when he comes to tread in whatsoever theatre ! they are so unfit to bear a part among any civil and judicious company, that whatsoever place they may hold in the church, I am confident they must make all their friends to be but received into the nursery. And had not Mr. Killigrew foreseen that
they

* Preface to Ecclesiastical Politie, page 16, many things are only designed to set off his reasonings with a comical humour and pleasantness.

they must of course within a little time fall to dirt of themselves, he would ere this, to be sure, have trounced the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie, for intrenching upon his patent. But he knew they were below his neglect, and the pit would quickly do their business, and not only hiss but pelt them off the stage. And I, that had fate so long more quiet than all the rest of the spectators, could not at last restrain myself from using also the liberty of the house, and revenging the expence of my time and money, by representing the author of the comedy called the Ecclesiastical Politie in that farce of mine own, the Rehearsal Transpros'd.

Neither yet was this all that deserved reprehension in his writings; he useth such a ruffian-like stile, and upon which, to my knowledge, he peculiarly values himself, that any one would suspect he had travelled and conversed all his life time either among the nation of the Bravo's and Filoux *, or else been educated in the academy of the Venetian galleys, which he himself was in his second book so apprehensive of, that he never rested until he had found in his third how to supply † them with slaves out of the non-conformists. But I perceive since that men of his parts can arrive at those perfections sitting but in their closets and overhearing the watermen, which others, after their long voyages and observation, neither would nor could ever attain to.

* Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 1.

† Eccl. Pol. p. 223.

to. Then the arrogance which runs through all his books is insupportable, boasting proudly of himself, vilifying and censuring others to such a degree, that as I never heard any thing equal, so neither any thing like it but the mountebanks abroad, who, after a deal of scaffold pageantry to draw audience, entertain them by decrying all others with a panegyrick of their own balsam. There is scarce any fort and rank of men ancient or modern, scarce any particular person, though of the most established and just reputation, but he does, if he meet them, not hale them into his way, to inveigh against them and trample upon them, nay, even such as have but a book, or two, or three before (perhaps a page, perhaps a line) been happy in his good opinion. And this he does for the most part in the most bitter manner that is possible: I know not whether I may properly call it satyrical, but let it go so for once, for what he wants in wit, he supplies however in good will; and where the conceit is deficient, he makes it out alwayes with railing. He scarce ever opens his mouth, but that he may bite; nor bites, but that from the vesicles of his gums he may infuse a venom. Had he been but innocently dull, he might have been sure no man would have meddled with him: but when there was no end of his buttering one book upon another, and he still writ worse and worse, with less vigour alwayes, but more virulence, that perpetual grating did indeed set my teeth on edge, and I thought that even the most candid
 readers

readers would out of their equity not take it amiss, if at last he did, by hearing ill himself, lose part of that pleasure which he had so frequently taken in traducing and speaking hitherto ill of others. For no man needs letters of mart against one that is an open pirate of other mens credit : and I remember within our time one Simons, who robbed alwayes upon the Bricolle, that is to say, never interrupted the passengers but still set upon the thieves themselves, after, like Sir John Falstaff, they were gorged with a booty ; and by this way, so ingenious, that it was scarce criminal, he lived secure and unmolested all his dayes with the reputation of a judge rather than a highwayman. But my greatest incentive was, as I told him in my former pamphlet, the perniciousness of the whole design of his books ; tending, in my opinion, to the disturbance of all government, the misrepresenting of the generous and prudent counsels of his Majesty, and raising a mis-intelligence betwixt him and his people ; beside his calumniating the whole foreign Protestantcy, his stirring up of persecution against those at home, and his mangling even of Religion itself and Christianity : and to this purpose he suited befitting principles, and to those a language as harmonious : seeming to have forgot not only all Scripture rules, but even all Scripture expressions ; unless where he either distorts them to his own interpretation, or attempts to make them ridiculous to others ; inso-much, that, of all the books that ever I read, I must needs say,

say, I never saw a Divine guilty of so much ribaldry and prophaneness. Which though it was a matter of such decency to his undertaking, that I account it to have been even necessary, yet in the whole I looked upon it as so uncanonical and impious, that it would bear an higher and more deserved accusation than that of Onias, the son of Simeon the Just, for officiating in a woman's zone instead of the priestly girdle, and for the sacred pectoral wearing his mistress's stomacher. I must confess, that when all these things centred together upon my imagination, and I saw that none of his superiors offered to interpose against an evil so great in itself, and as to me appeared so publick in the consequence and mischief, I could hold no longer, and I, though the most unfit of many, assumed upon him the privilege (if any such privilege there be) of an English Zelote.

Otherwise I indeed looked upon him, whosoever he were, as a person in parts much my superiour, until the cause, as he took and handled it, had depressed and levelled his understanding: neither could I ever discover before such an exuberance either in mine own abilities, which I am sensible how mean, or yet in my inclination, that should tempt me from that modest retiredness to which I had all my lifetime hitherto been addicted. And truly after I had written, I had so slender an opinion of my own performance, that

I can attribute the acceptance which it found only to his favour, who had so handled the matter, that nothing could have come out at that time against him but must be assured of welcome. And that among the other more weighty causes, by reason of his unspeakable arrogance before mentioned: a vice so generally odious, that to repress it is no less grateful; so that Lucretius might better have said that to be ——— *Divum hominumque voluptas*; there being scarce any spectacle more pleasing to God and Man, than to see the proud humbled. But could I have imagined that my book could have had either so good or so ill a reception as it diversly met with, I have so much respect to those whom he calls the vulgar, and to whom he bids alwayes * universal contempt and defiance, as a rout of wolves and tigers, apes and baboons, that I should however have bestowed more pains upon it, I know not whether with better success. Yet the errors of that not being now revocable but by asking pardon of whosoever may have innocently mistaken my book, and declaring, which I do, that if any thing therein do tend to the disparagement of the Church of England, I wish it unsaid, as it was unthought, and do hereby utterly disclaim it; I took it to be part of my gratitude to go no more to sea, having been sufficiently tossed for one man upon the billows of applause and obloquy to put me in mind of a shipwreck, which when the waves go high, may

either way happen. And as to the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity himself, whose person I was so far ignorant of, that I could only take aim at his errours, and much less could intend any other of that function, but those few who might assume to themselves his character; I found, nevertheless, after the writing of that book, that natural relenting of mind which most men feel after they have done an harsh though necessary action. Inasmuch that had it been in my power to have set him right again in mens opinions, as it was in his to set himself wrong, I should have certainly done it. But for that he and every one else may please to believe as they shall see occasion. But this however must be evident which follows.

Whereas I had in that book, as is in that stile usual, intermixed things apparently fabulous, with others probably true, and that partly out of my uncertainty of the author, and partly that if he pleased he might continue so; it seems however, that I chanced to come so near his form that it started him, and he thought fit to discover himself. Hereupon, and having understood what he was about, I thought it my duty, if possible, to break off this ruder intercourse for the future, and reduce the matter unto a more manly way of argument. I therefore took care to advertise him that I heard from several hands, that if in the answer intended, there were any unjust and personal reflections, it would tend much to the disreputation of himself and some persons whom
he

he most esteemed, and that there was preparation made to that purpose. Upon this he sent me word, that if any answer were intended, 'twas more than he was acquainted with, or would concern himself about; and assured me my private reputation, nor no man's else, should ever be injured in publick by his consent. I do not by quoting this answer of his pretend to sue his word, to which he is no more a slave than to the Venetian galleys (such men being at liberty to comment upon their own as well as other texts at their pleasure.) Nevertheless before this, and at that present time, as well as ever since, I understood that he had sent out a general *fiquis* thorow his own province and the other, to make inquisition concerning me. He voiced my book all over as a most pernicious engine bent against the whole body of the clergy. And upon that pretence he summoned in all that owed suit and service to his court, ~~on~~ the church of England. The whole *posse Archidiaconatus* was raised to repress me, and great riding there was, and sending post every way to pick out the ablest ecclesiastical drolls to prepare an answer. Some came in daily as voluntiers, and others were more mercenary. For certainly there was never such an hubbub made about a sorry book; and, since the day of St. Bartholomew, there has not appeared so great an expectation of an universal donative. Some one flattered himself with being at least a Surrogate; another was so modest as to set up with being but Apparitor; while the most

generous hoped only to be graciously smiled upon and well treated at a good dinner : but the more hungry starvelings generally looked upon it as an immediate call to a benefice, and he that could but write an answer, whatsoever it were, took it for the most dexterous, cheap, and legal way of simony. So that, as is usual upon those occasions, there arose no small competition and mutiny among the pretenders ; and, it being impossible to satisfy them all, many an one departed with a sad heart and dejected countenance, when their answers would not pass muster. For it was not every book that could now be admitted. 'Twas required upon this occasion to gain a license, that there should be some wit more than ordinary, which most of them could not be at the expense of ; some measure of impudence, which few of them would pretend to ; and above all, such a proportion of falshood as might alone have supplied the other defects, and made their books current ; but scarce any of them would do it out of good conscience. For that indeed was now the principal business and the only argument that, as he had handled it, remained to this cause ; and therefore the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity had altered his lodgings to a Calumny Office, and kept open chamber for all comers, that he might be supplied himself, or supply others as there was occasion. But, though he had been a little choice at first, the informations came in so slenderly, that he was glad to make use of any thing
rather

rather than sit out : and there was at last nothing so slight but it grew material ; nothing so false, but he resolved it should go for truth ; and what wanted in matter, he would make out with invention and artifice. So that he and his remaining comrades seemed to have set up a glass-house, the model of which he had observed from the height of his window in the neighbourhood, and the art he had been initiated into ever since from the manufacture (he will criticize because not orifactory) of soape-bubbles, he improved by degrees to the mystery of making glass-drops, and thence in running leaps, mounted by these virtues to be Fellow of the Royal Society, Doctor of Divinity, Parson, Prebend, and Archdeacon. The furnace was so hot of itself that there needed no coals, much less any one to blow them. One burnt the weed, another calcined the flint, a third melted down that mixture ; but he himself fashioned all with his breath, and polished with his stile, till out of a meer jelly of sand and ashes, he had furnished a whole cupboard of things so brittle and incoherent, that the least touch would break them again in pieces, so transparent that every man might see throw them.

In the mean time such care was used, that the incense of my book was recalled, and the Rehearsal Transposed was dubbed a theological book, only to bring it under the verge of that jurisdiction, on purpose that it might be prohibited.

It

It hath indeed been usual to degrade a priest, or scrape a shaven crown to deface his character before he were delivered over to secular justice: but this was a strange and contrary method to force a poor book into holy orders, that so it might be subjected to censure and execution by the Ordinary. This was an honour, which to my knowledge the poor book neither affected nor deserved; though indeed it might have deserved it as well as the Preface to Bishop Bramhall, which occasioned its writing, and that 'tis true, came out in state, under the title of a theological book, in the printed catalogue of that year, as several others do of the same nature. When he had thus provided that my book should not speak for itself, and moreover used means, which having proved ineffectual I shall not particularize, to obstruct me from liberty of ever vindicating it for the future; it seemed to him the most favourable season that ever was, or could have been invented to keep his promise, and to publish his answers, to preserve my private reputation. For one answer would not suffice; but therefore to fit his ware for the purse and fancies of all chapmen, and to ingratiate not only the^{*} bookfellers, but the pedlers, he ordered the matter so, and digested it into several volumes, that a man might buy a groat, sixpence, a shilling, eighteen pence, half a crown, or five shillings-worth of theological wit and verity, as he saw occasion. The rest issued promiscuously; only before that which was to bear his own character, and

the other which was to be called Hicringill's, were divulged, he procured that I should be asked by good authority, whether the Rehearsal Transposed were of my doing, which I under my hand avowed. By this means he had gained however three points, as he imagined. The first, that he should thereby have some months time more to mature two such excellent pieces, which he intended as the Hercules' pillars, and *ne-plus-ultras* of the reason, wit, sobriety, good-breeding and orthodoxy of the clergy of the church of England. The next, that he should now be able to take such certain aim at me, that he might, every shot he made, hit me in the eye, or at least (for I have to do with a very critical adversary) in its cavity, for I suppose his first arrow must have struck the eye out. And the last, doubtless, that having let me know "that he would not concern himself," and "assured me that my private reputation, nor any man's else, should ever by him be injured in publick;" he might now be understood I was the professed author, give by these books so ample testimonial of his own veracity. Though for some other reasons beside this last, I had rather conceive it might have been more expedient for him not to have been so inquisitive of the author, or at least, after he had learnt it, not to have taken that notice of me. Not that I assume to myself any of those lineaments wherewith he describes me; but however, after I had owned the Rehearsal Transposed, whatsoever in either of his books he reflects upon

the

the author, he must acknowledge as said by himself of me, and directed to me. At last, when all other plots and clancular contrivance against me had failed him, these two books also, which he had kept in reserve, were in some haste printed off; his day of marriage too drawing fast on, which he intended to calendar by a victory, and would perhaps have been deferred longer by the friends, had he not first signalized his prowess. So that now there were no less than half a dozen answers out against me (not to mention several other pamphlets, wherein the authors or booksellers, by drawing in but by head and shoulders one line perhaps concerning the Rehearsal Transposed, or by only naming it, hoped to procure vent or better their livelyhood.) He had thus got a *fixiefme du valet* in his hand already, and if he can but show three more of the same honour to make a *quatorze*, I am repiqued inevitably, and spoyled for a gamester by a dignitary much superior to him of Lincoln. There were no less than six Scaramuccios together upon the stage, all of them of the same gravity and behaviour, the same tone, the same habit, that it was impossible to discern which was the true author of the Ecclesiastical Politie. I believe he imitated the wisdom of some other princes, who have sometimes been perswaded by their servants to disguise several others in the regal garb, that the enemy might not know in the battel whom to fingle. But for my part, though I know that several gentlemen, and some of them

divines, are commonly named as the authors of those books, yet they are persons for the most part of more candor, learning, and good judgement, than that I should suspect the truth of it, or that they could possibly descend to so mean and contrary an undertaking. And even that Gregory Greybeard, which alone of all the six pretends to a father, and to be writ by one that hath not only a sur-name, but a christen-name also, it sounds so strangely and unlike the name of any human creature, that rather than so, it seems to me a word of cipher, like the Smectymnus formerly of the Presbyterians; and so Hicringill, to denote the club of this whole party. But it is more probably by much the issue of the very same author of the Ecclesiastical Politie. If it should be any other, 'tis a thing more remarkable than what is reported of the two learned brothers of St. Marthe, who being twins, and living to a great age, were so like one another, that they were not to be distinguished, but that one wore a plain band and the other a ruff: nay, their minds had no less similitude; insomuch that, having withdrawn all day to study at any time on the same subject, when they came to compare at night, they should find that they had lit for the most part upon the same conceptions. For he that shall read the Reproof to the Rehearsal Transprosed, and then this Hicringill, will discern so little difference in their expressions, humour and thoughts (such as no man else could have hit upon) as he must necessarily infer

and conclude that they are the works of one and the same artificer, and so much I can prove ; that, if any one were not of his penning, yet all of them passed under his inspection, approbation, or license. So that upon perusal of all those books that have appeared in so many several shapes against me, first Rosemary and Bayes, then the Common Places, next the Transproser Rehearsed, fourthly, S'too him Bayes, afterwards the Reproof, and, in fine, Gregory Graybeard ; I find plainly that 'tis but the same ghost that hath haunted me in those differing dresses and vehicles. Infomuch, that upon consideration of so various an identity, methinks, after so many years, I begin to understand Doctor Donne's Progress of the Soul, which passed through no fewer revolutions, and had hitherto puzzled all its readers,

For—" This great soul, which here amongst us now

" Does dwell, and—to which * Luther and Mahomet were

" Prisons of flesh, this soul which oft did tear

" And mend the wracks of th' Empire and late Rome,

" And liv'd when every great change did come."

did nevertheless fix itself at first in so mean a condition, as is scarce credible in a chaste and innocent apple †. But that being soon plucked, it betook itself into a mandrake, and

" To

* Stanza 7.

† Idem, 9.

“ To show that in love’s business he should still
 “ A dealer be, and be us’d well or ill *,
 “ His apples kindle, his leaves force of conception kill.” } }

(’Tis pity that his Curate of Ickham was not acquainted with its virtues.) From this it took its flight into a sparrow, and lived a chirping life, as is there described,

“ † Already this hot cock, in bush and tree,
 “ In field and tent, o’erflutters its next hen, &c.”

From thence it dropped, I know not how, into a little fish ‡ : after that, into another little fish || : and there learnt the art of tippling, which it practised for some time in that moderate proportion. But next, in its third swimming leap it pitched into a § whale, and grew up to be the great Leviathan—
 “ Now drinks he up seas **,——

—— “ and ever as he went,
 “ He spouted rivers up——” ††

Immediately after this, the soul by some misadventure dwindled into a mouse, but a very busie mouse, and of great design : so that

—— “ being late taught that great things might by less
 “ Be slain, to gallant mischief it doth itself address ‡‡ :”

N n 2

and

* Stanza 15.	† Idem, 20.	‡ Idem, 23.	Idem, 25.
§ Idem, 31.	** Idem, 34.	†† Idem, 32.	‡‡ Idem, 38.

and picked out no less opposite than an elephant to buckle with,

“ Who foe to none, suspects no enemies, &c.” *

and having crept up thorow his trunk, was gnawing his brain-strings afunder ; but suddenly was crushed under the ruins of so great an adversary. In process of time it entered into a wolf, and infested Abel’s flock † ;

“ Abel, as white and mild as his sheep were,

“ Who, in that trade of church and kingdoms, there

“ Was the first type” —

but being hindered by a vigilant bitch ‡, the wolf corrupted her to his purpose ; yet at last was taken in a trap and killed. But straight it entered into the young || Lycisca, that was new knotted, and the whelp growing up, was employed by Abel in keeping the same flock ; but the mungrel was not to be trusted : for partaking of both natures,

§ “ He, as his damme, from sheep drove wolves away,

“ And, as his fire, he made them his own prey.

“ Five years he liv’d, and cozened with his trade :”

and then coming at last to be discovered,

“ From dogs a wolf, from wolves a dog hath fled :

“ And, like a spy, to both sides false, he perished.”

The

* Stanza 39. † Idem, 41. ‡ Idem, 42. || Idem, 43. § Idem, 45.

The soul being then at a loss, got admittance into an ape ; which being very facetious and full of gambols, grew into great favour with Madam Siphatecia : but for some ugly tricks, and making too bold with his mistress's apron, he was with a great stone knocked dead by Thelemite her brother. After this soul had passed thorow so many brutes, and been hunted from post to pillar, its last receptacle was in the human nature, and it housed itself in a female conception ; which, after it came to years of consent, was married to Cain by the name of Themech. This was the sum of that witty fable of Doctor Donne's, which, if it do not perfectly suit with all the transmigrations of mine answerer, the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie, nor equal the progress of so great a prince ; yet whoever will be so curious as himself to read that poem, may follow the parallel much farther than I have done, lest I should be tedious to the reader by too long and exact a similitude. But if it do not quadrate here, the resemblance will perhaps be more visible upon the examination of what remains to be considered next to the *gravity of his profession*, that is, the *civility of his education*, which he charges me by my former book to have discomposed. For it is the interest of the publick, especially he appealing to it upon this particular, that it should remain upon record how syllogistical a life his hath been to the stile and principles that he has managed and prosecuted.

Whoever

Whoever shall go back to trace his original, will quickly be at a stand, and find themselves so soon involved in the fabulous age, that they will run astray, and be benighted in his history before noon. They will find his Saturn to have reigned much later than William the Conqueror ; or if, like a true-born Arcadian, he derive himself from before the moon, it must be understood concerning the last change. I cannot yet learn, though he hath employed me about it, who was his grandfather : but, as modern as he must have been, 'tis the certainer heraldry to extract him from a vesicle of the earth, and let him go for the grandson of a pimple. For no prince, how great soever, begets his predecessors ; and the noblest rivers are not navigable to the fountain. Even the parentage of the Nile is yet in obscurity, and 'tis a dispute among authors, whether snow be not the head of his pedigree. I read indeed, as long ago as in the reign of Edward the Fourth, concerning one Henry Parker, a Carmelite Friar, who having preached against the secular grandeur and pomp of the clergy in those times, was forced to make a publick recantation at Paul's-Cross. But this is too obsolete : and though otherwise the analogy might easily be propagated, yet I suppose the honest monk kept to his vow of continence : and besides, should the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie descend from that line, it would make too great a solecism in his scutcheon. There was also in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth, and beginning of King James,

one

one Robert Parker, the author of another kind of Ecclesiastical Politie, a learned, but severe Nonconformist, who writ also the book *De Cruce*, for which he was forced to cross the seas. But neither can I find him to come within the proportion of time or scale of his genealogy. Therefore, to come nearer, I find in the reign of the late King Charles, one Humfrey Parker, yeoman, who, together with Mr. Chancey, for opposing the rails about the Communion Table at Ware, was sentenced to make a solemn submission and acknowledgment of his fault, as he did accordingly. There are several arguments that might incline me to think the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie is come of his succession, and one particularly, because in the record I read that this Humfrey took a journey upon this occasion into Northamptonshire, the seat of the answerer's family. But that which seems to come nearest home to him and the chronology of his grandfather, is in the year 1640, in a petition from the city of London and several counties, to the then parliament; complaining, among other things, of Martin Parker's ballads, in disgrace of religion, to the increase of all vice, and withdrawing of people from reading, studying, and hearing the word of God, and other good books. 'Tis not unlikely that this, as an hereditary provocation, hath stuck upon him ever since; and that he swore at the altar, when he was but nine years old, to be avenged for this affront to his lineage. We see often that the signature of the grandfather revives

upon the child ; and, as some rivers diving for a while underground, make a bridge of the parents to spring up again at that interval. Hence, doubtless, hath proceeded all his pique against the Nonconformists ; hence that unquenchable Nemesis against the city ; hence it is that he hath taken upon him to defend in gross at this time, the whole mass of enormities, right or wrong, then complained of in that petition : all this mischief for a ballad-maker's sake of the kindred. The Duke of Muscovy indeed declared war against Poland, because he and his nation had been vilified by a Polish poet : but the author of the Ecclesiastical Politic would, it seems, disturb the peace of Christendom for the good old cause of a superannuated chanter of Saffron-Hill and Pye-Corner. But though indeed he doth not write his books in the Smithfield metre, yet they are all blank ballad, and the subject and consequence “ to the disgrace of religion, the increase
 “ of all vice, and withdrawing people from reading, study-
 “ ing, and hearing the word of God, and other good books,
 “ is exactly the same.” So that he may when he will put in for letters of administration in the Prerogative Court, and enter his claim too with the Heralds : for every one will yield him to be the next of kin to that author ; or let him but produce his own writings, 'tis evidence sufficient. If it should prove otherwise, the fault is in his own obscurity, that hath left all the neighbourhood and me in the dark ; and let him make what shift he will to procure himself a grandfather.

grandfather, for I have taken pains enough, I am sure, to help him to one.

But however for that matter, let the worst come to the worst, he had a mother undeniably, and probably a father: otherwise he would be shrewdly disappointed, and in a worse case than Prince Prettyman * lamenting,

“What oracle this secret can evince,

“Sometimes a fisher’s son, sometimes a prince:

“It is a secret great, as is the world,

“In which I, like the soul, am toss’d and hurl’d:”

And he might with good reason exclaim more pathetically—

“Bring in my father, why d’ye keep him from me? Although

“a fisherman, he is my father.”

“Was ever son yet brought to this distress,

“† To be for being a son made fatherless?

“O you just heavens! rob me not of a father:

“The being of a son take from me rather.”

His mother is said to have been an honest yeoman’s daughter, and to have been his father’s servant, with whom she lived with good reputation, and so ever since her marriage; except what disgrace may have reflected from her issue, which being her grief and misfortune, ought not to be her scandal. But

VOL. II.

O o

though

* Rehearsal Comedy, p. 27.

† Idem, p. 26.

though he came of a good mother, he had a very ill fire. He was a man bred toward the law, and betook himself, as his best practice, to be a sub-committee-man, or, as the stile ran, one of the assistant committee in Northamptonshire. In the rapine of that employment, and what he got by picking the teeth of his masters, he sustained himself, till he had raked together some little estate. And then being a man for the purpose, and that had begun his fortune out of the sequestration of the estates of the King's party, he, to perfect it the more, proceeded to take away their lives; not in the hot and military way (which diminishes always the offence) but in the cooler blood and sedentary execution of an high court of justice. Accordingly he was preferred to be one of that number that gave sentence against the three Lords, Capel, Holland, and Hamilton, who were beheaded. By this learning in the law he became worthy of the degree of a serjeant, and sometimes to go the circuit, till for misdemeanor he was petitioned against. But for a taste of his abilities, and the more to re-ingratiate himself, he printed, in the year 1650, a very remarkable book called, "The Government of the People of England, precedent and present the same." *Ad subscribentes confirmandum, dubitantes informandum, opposcentes convincendum*; and underneath, *Multa videntur quæ non sunt, multa sunt quæ non videntur*. Under that engraven, two hands joyned with the motto, *Ut uniamur*; and beneath a sheaf of arrows, with this device,

Viz:

Vis unita fortior; and to conclude, *Concordia parvæ res crescunt, discordia dilabuntur*. A most hieroglyphical title, and sufficient to have supplied the mantlings and achievements of the family! By these parents he was sent to Oxford, with intention to breed him up to the ministry. There in a short time he entered himself into the company of some young students who were used to fast and pray weekly together; but for their refectiion fed sometimes on broth, from whence they were commonly called Grewellers: only it was observed that he was wont still to put more graves than all the rest in his porridge. And after that he picked acquaintance not only with the brotherhood at Wadham College, but with the sisterhood too at another old Elfibeth's, one Elizabeth Hampton's, a plain devout woman, where he trained himself up in hearing their sermons and prayers, receiving also the sacrament in the house, till he had gained such proficiencie, that he too began to exercise in that meeting, and was esteemed one of the preciousst young men in the university. But when thus, after several years approbation, he was even ready to have taken the charge, not of an admiring drove or herd, as he now calls them, but of a flock upon him, by great misfortune, the King came in by the miraculous providence of God, influencing the distractions of some, the good affections of others, and the weariness of all towards that happy restauration, after so many sufferings, to his regal crown and dignity. Nevertheless, he

broke not off yet from his former habitudes ; and though it were now too late to obviate this inconvenience, yet he persisted as far as in him was, that is, by praying, caballing, and discoursing, to obstruct the restoring of the episcopal government, revenues, and authority. Infomuch that finding himself discountenanced on those accounts by the then Warden of Wadham, he shifted colleges to Trinity, and, when there, went away without his degree, scrupling, forsooth, the subscription then required. From thence he came to London, where he spent a considerable time in creeping into all corners and companies, horoscoping up and down concerning the duration of the government : not considering any thing as best, but as most lasting and most profitable. And after having many times cast a figure, he at last satisfied himself that the episcopal government would endure as long as this King lived ; and from thenceforward cast about how to be admitted into the church of England, and find the high-way to her preferments. In order to this he daily enlarged, not only his conversation, but his conscience, and was made free of some of the town vices : imagining, like Muleassies, King of Tunis (for I take witness that on all occasions I treat him rather above his quality than otherwise) that by hiding himself among the onions, he should escape being traced by his perfumes. Ignorant and mistaken man, that thought it necessary to part with any virtue to get a living ; or that the church of England did
not

not require and incourage more sobriety than he could ever be guilty of : whereas it hath alwayes been fruitful of men, who, together with obedience to that discipline, have lived to the envy of the Nonconformists in their conversation, and without such, could never either have been preserved so long, or after so long a dissipation have ever recovered. But neither was this yet in his opinion sufficient : and therefore he resolved to try a shorter path, which some few men have trod not unsuccessfully : that is, to print a book ; if that would not do, a second ; if not that, a third of an higher extraction, and so forward, to give experiment against their former party of a keen stile and a ductile judgement. His first proof piece was in the year 1665, the *Tentamina Physico-Theologica* : a tedious transcript of his common place book, wherein there is very little of his own, but the arrogance and the unparalleled censoriousness that he exercises over all other writers, besides his undutiful inveighing even then against the vesicles of the earth for meer bubbles, as he did shortly after against his father's memory, and in his mother's presence, before several witnesses, for a couple of whining Fanaticks. However he accounted it a safe book. on all sides, it being of so trite and confessed an argument, that few judicious men would read it to examine the errors : and in so rough and scabbed a Latine, that a man must have long nails, and those sharper than ordinary, to distinguish betwixt the skin and the disease, the faults and the grammar.

mar. To omit his usual volume and circumference of periods, which, though he takes alwayes to be his chiefest strength, yet indeed, like too great a line, weakens the defense, and requires too many men to make it good. But the cause being against Atheism, he was secure that none would attack him. For whether there be any Atheists is some controversie; and he is compurgator for most of them: or if there be such, yet they know the bastions are all undermined, and they should be blown up as soon as entered. But let him shew me any Atheist that he hath reduced by his book, unless he may pretend to have converted some (as in the old Florentine wars) by meer tiring them out, and perfect weariness. In this treatise, however, it was difficult for him to have hedged in the Nonconformists: only here and there he sprinkles a glittering ore, to give hopes of a vein underneath, of such metal as might by a skilful hand be founded into any figure; and having shown, as he thought, sufficiently, that he believed there was a God, he imagined that thenceforward, write what, and against whom he would, it might pass as indisputably; that all would be current which past his touch-stone; that as his predecessor Midas turned into gold whatsoever he touched, so every thing by his handling should be transmuted to orthodoxy. When he had cooked up these musty collections, he makes his first invitation to his old acquaintance, my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, who had never seen before nor

heard

heard of him. But I must confess he furbishes up his Grace in so glorious an epistle, that, had not my Lord been long since proof against the most spiritual flattery, the Dedication only, without ever reading the book, might have served to have fixed him from that instant as his favourite. Yet all this I perceive did not his work, but his Grace was so unmindful, or rather so prudent, that the gentleman thought it necessary to spur up again the next year with another new book, to show more plainly what he would be at. This he dedicates to Doctor Bathurst; and to evidence from the very epistle, that he was ready to renounce that very education, the civility of which he is so tender of as to blame me for disordering it, he picks occasion to tell him: "to your prevailing advice, Sir, do I owe my first rescue
 "from the chains and fetters of an unhappy education." But in the book which he calls, *A free and impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophy*, (censure 'tis sure to be, whatsoever he writes) he speaks out, and demonstrates himself ready and equipped to surrender not only the cause, but betray his party without making any conditions for them, and to appear forthwith himself in the head of the contrary interest. Which, supposing the dispute to be just, yet in him was so mercenary, that none would have descended to act his part but a divine of fortune. And even lawyers take themselves excused from being of counsel for the King himself, in a cause where they have been entertained and instructed by their client.

client. But so flippant he was, and forward in this book, that, in despite of all chronology, he could introduce * Plato to inveigh against Calvin, and from the Platoniques he could miraculously hook in a discourse against the Nonconformists. After this feat of activity he was ready to leap over the moon : no scruple of conscience could stand in his way, and no preferment seemed too high for him ; for about this time, I find that having taken a turn at Cambridge to qualify himself, he was received within doors to be my Lord Archbishop's other chaplain, and into some degree of favour : which, considering the difference of their humours and ages, was somewhat surprizing. But, whether indeed, in times of heat and faction, the most temperate spirits may sometimes chance to take delight in one that is spiteful, and make some use of him ; or whether it be, that even the most grave and serious persons do for relaxation divert themselves willingly by whiles with a creature that is unlucky, mimical and gamesome ; so it was. And thenceforward the nimble gentleman danced upon bell-ropes, vaulted from steeple to steeple, and cut capers out of one dignity to another. Having thus dexterously stuck his groat in Lambeth waincot, it may easily be conceived he would be unwilling to lose it ; and therefore he concerned himself highly, and even to jealousy, in upholding now that palace, which if falling, he would out of instinct be the first should leave it.

* Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 26, 27, 28, &c.

it. His Majesty about that time labouring to effect his constant promises of indulgence to his people, the author therefore walking with his own shadow in the evening, took a great fright lest all were agone. And in this conceit being resolved to make good his figure, and that one government should not last any longer than the other, he set himself to write those dangerous books which I have now to do with : wherein, he first makes all that he will to be law ; and then whatsoever is law to be divinity. And I shall appeal to all readers, and I hope make it good, that never in any age, by any man (that I may not say any churchman) have there been published discourses either so erroneously founded, or so foully managed, or of so pernicious consequence. In conclusion, this is that man who insists so much, and stirrups himself upon the gravity of his profession, and the civility of his education : which if he had in the least observed in respect either to himself or others, I should, I could never have made so bold with him. And nevertheless, it being so necessary to represent him in his own likeness, that it may appear what he is to others, and to himself, if possibly he might at last correct his indecencies, I have not committed any fault of stile, nor even this tediousness, but in his imitation. I have not used any harsh expressions but what were suitable to that civility of education which he practises, and that gravity of profession which he hath set up of : and even therein I have taken care, beside what my

nature hath taken care for, to shoot below the mark, and not to retaliate to the same degree; being willing, as I must yield him the preference for many good qualities, so in his worst, however, to give him the precedence. And yet with all that it hath been thus far the odiouslest task that ever I undertook, and has looked to me all the while like the cruelty of a living dissection, which, however it may tend to publick instruction, and though I have picked out the most noxious creature to be anatomized, yet doth scarce excuse or recompence the offensiveness of the scent and fouling of my fingers. Therefore I will here break off abruptly, leaving many a vein not laid open, and many a passage not searched into; nor read any further upon this foul of the world, or prosecute afresh its allegory from the apple, the mandrake, the sparrow, the fishes, the mouse, the mungrel, the ape, unto the day of marriage, but leave the moral to the judicious. And I could here take advantage, perhaps plausibly enough, to put a final conclusion to this whole book; for if a man hath taken off his railing, he hath therein answered his argument. But if I have undergone the drudgery of the more loathsome part already, I will not defraud myself of what is more truly pleasant, and remains behind the lighter burthen, the conflict with, if it may be so called, his reason. For his whole book is, according to his usual address, a letter to me, and it concerns my civility to return an answer to every part of it. He hath asked me many questions, and I take

myself obliged to resolve them. And he hath promised me the press shall be open ; neither would I therefore be behind-hand with him in courtesie. So that I have now only three things of which he hath made it necessary that I caution the reader. The first is, not to be misled by a pestilent way that he has of youing me, and so making me an epidemical person, affixing thereby what hath ever, he pretends to have been said or done by any in the cause of Nonconformity at any time to my account : although it hath never entered into my book or imagination, and he had been more kind, if, as sometimes he does out of civility, he had thou'd me to the end of the chapter. The second is, not on the other part to impute any errors or weakness of mine to the Nonconformists, nor mistake me for one of them, (not that I fly it as a reproach, but rather honour the most scrupulous :) for I write only what I think befits all men in humanity, Christianity, and prudence toward Dissenters. The last is, not to think that I am any such old acquaintance as he claims to insinuate me of dis-ingenuity, for of our acquaintance I shall give account hereafter.

That which gave me the first occasion of writing was, as I have said formerly, his third Crambe, of the same purulent matter, and virulent stile, the Preface to Bishop Bramhall : and against that and its incomparable extravagancies was my whole discourse bent and levelled. Only about the

middle of mine I touched in passing upon some points of his other treatises, that is, the "Power of the Magistrate, Conscience, Morality, Debauchery, Persecution," &c. But he, whether by mistake or on purpose, turns my method quite backward, and, avoiding that which was direct for what is but collateral, begins in his second page, in his usual military metaphors of Attack, Front and Rear, &c. with the ninety-seventh of my book. This, however, is an accident that hath befallen other great commanders as well as himself. For his ancient friend, William the Conqueror, at the battel of Hastings, had in the same manner the back of his cuirasses placed before, by the error of him that put them on. The thing is ominous I doubt to the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie, and assuredly (as the Duke then said) "This day
 " his fortune will turn, and he will be a King or nothing
 " before night." Yet I will not decline the pursuit, but plod on after him in his own way, thorow thick and thin, hill or dale, over hedge and ditch wherever he leads; till I have laid hand on him, and delivered him bound either to Reason or Laughter, to Justice or Pity. If at any turn he gives me the least opportunity to be serious, I shall gladly take it: but where he prevaricates or is scurrilous (and where is he not?) I shall treat him betwixt jest and earnest. That which is solid and sharp, being impeded by something more light and airy, may carry further and pierce deeper, and therefore I shall look to it as well as I can, that mine

arrows be well pointed, and of mine own whetting ; but for the feathers, I must borrow them out of his wing. Neither yet would I have this similitude improved to his disparagement : for he is a bird of prey, and an high-flyer, and, though he hath lessened himself by the height of his place, he cannot certainly be other than an eagle, and perhaps the same fate may attend him.

First therefore, as to the power of the magistrate, he saith in gross, that * “ the supream government of every
 “ commonwealth must of necessity be universal, uncontroul-
 “ able, indispenfable, unlimited, and absolute in all affairs.
 “ whatsoever that concern the interests of mankind, and the
 “ ends of government ; as well in matters of religion, as in
 “ all other civil concerns.” This is, I confess, pretty strongly worded, and drawn up, doubtless, by the advice of his counsel learned : but if these be terms yet unknown in our law, we must refer it to the supream government “ to define their signification †.” However if it be not law, ’tis pity but it were so. ’Tis the very *elixir potestatis* and *magisterium Domini* : so fine a thing that no man living but would be enamoured with it : for, wot ye well, it is “ a power,” he saith, “ established” of yore, at, or before the beginning of the world, ere there was any such thing known or thought of, as periwigs or
 glafs-

* Eccl. Pol. p. 27, 28, 35, &c.

† Idem, p. 109.

glafs-coaches “ by the unalterable dictates of natural reason
 “ and univerfal practice and consent of nations.” Only in
 “ the * Jewish commonwealth, for fome peculiar reasons of
 “ ftate,” (which he knows but will not tell us) ’twas for
 fome time otherwife. But this power was † “ antecedent to
 “ Chrift” himfelf, and it was fo well founded, that there was
 none, or very little need of the authority of the Scripture in
 the cafe, and therefore “ the Scripture rather fupposes than
 “ afferts this jurisdiction.” Yet in our Saviour’s time, and
 for fome while after, there was fuch “ ‡ a pofture of affairs”
 and “ § fuch an happy juncture of affairs” (how mechani-
 cally he expreffes it?) that, while the Heathen princes en-
 joyed this power by the antecedent right of fovereignty, and
 accordingly exercifed it over Chriftians, ’twas alfo neceffary
 to fupply it among them “ by miracles of feverity.” But
 “ § when once Chriftianity became the imperial religion,
 “ this power began to refettle where nature had placed it,”
 and fo the world jogged on, and “ ** its affairs were com-
 “ petently well governed (though better or worfe, accord-
 ing to the wifdom and vigilance of the feveral Emperors”)
 till the Bifhop of Rome, feeing this Power to be fo rich and
 beautiful a creature, began to caft a fweet eye on her,
 and, by the addrefs of his conftant follicitation and court-
 fhip, carried her fheer away from all the princes of Chriften-
 dom.

* Eccl. Pol. p. 32.

† Idem, p. 35.

‡ Idem, p. 37, 38.

§ Idem, p. 40.

§ Idem, p. 48.

** Idem, p. 54.

dom. So this jewel of the crown was for several hundred of years imbezzled, till Henry the Eighth and other princes found it again by chance in the ruines of an old monastery at the Reformation. But though the “* wisdom of the
 “ elder ages had always practised this power,” yet “† since
 “ that, governors have not been thorowly instructed in its
 “ nature and extent ‡. Government hath not been rightly
 “ understood nor duly managed, the Reformation hath not
 “ been able to resetttle princes in their full and natural
 “ rights ¶.” What will not the man deserve that can show
 them better, and teach governors a receipt against so chro-
 nical negligence and ignorance? § “ So little have princes un-
 “ derstood their own interests. So fatal has been their
 “ miscarriage.” Send for a phyfician ere they be all out of
 hope, and while there is yet some life in them. But he
 will do well to make sure of his fee beforehand, as those
 that sold the Icterus, a bird good against the jaundice, hid
 it till they were payed lest the buyer at first sight be cured.
 The great secret after all is, ** “ that the prince may and
 “ hath power to transfer the exercise of the priesthood
 “ upon another, and that he may if he please reserve it to
 “ himself.” Is this all? The notion is something new,
 indeed; but he hath deduced it very well, and ’tis pretty
 probable: though I have known the time, and many others
 may

* Eccl. Pol. p. 32.

|| Idem, p. 58.

† Idem, p. 58.

§ Idem, p. 19.

‡ Idem, p. 229.

** Idem, p. 32.

may remember it, when it would not have been granted. I make account the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie is sufficiently impowered by the whole clergy, at least of England : and doubtless therefore his Majesty, among other princes, will, if he find it good, and for his service, accept the donation, not much inferiour to that of Constantine. 'Tis a great piece of gratitude now in them, and 'twould have done well and more seasonably, had his late Majesty before the war been informed by them in this particular and the dependances. But I have some reason to be jealous that the Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie is not thus liberal without some design ; that he hath some job or other to be done, and how unlimited and absolute soever he hath made and declared the magistrate, there is some condition annexed, upon failure of which this fief shall reincamerate. For he was of another opinion in his Preface to Bishop Bramhall, when he said, “ * all government does, and must owe its quiet and
 “ continuance to the church's patronage.” Yes : there is another croisade to be undertaken ; and he hath a project in his head to engage all princes in a war against Nonconformity, a second † *bellum Archidiaconale*. For, though he was resolved to run his head against a wall, and very ingenuously professes there too, that “ if he had spoke reason,
 “ he had, without any more adoe, carryed the cause, if he
 “ had not, he was content to lose his labour ;” he intended
 not

* Eccl. Pol. p. 30.

† Pref. to Eccl. Pol. p. 46.

not it should go so easily. But in that very first book, while he was in the sweetest temper, in his natural serenity, and most benign inclinations, not heated or provoked by any adversary, and before he had expected one minute what so strong a reason, what so persuasive eloquence might have effected with the Nonconformists, joyned with that interest which he had so many years been creating amongst them, even then at the same time he sounds another trumpet than that in Sheer-Lane, to horse and hem in his auditory. He proclaims them, for meer dissenting upon tenderneſs of conscience *, “ Villains, Hypocrites, Rebels, Schismaticks, “ and the greateſt and moſt notorious hereticks.” He ſummons therefore the magiſtrate to do his office, that is, to impoſe ceremonies, which he owns to be indifferent, upon thoſe that hold the contrary, with the ſevereſt penalties, and the ſtricteſt execution. What is this but to put governors upon the tenters, to invent how poſſibly they may run their ſubjects into diſobedience, and then to invent and apply the tortures for their diſobeying? As for the poor ſubjects there is no help for them, but he gives them very excellent and ghottly counſel to abide their ſad fate with patience and reſignation, but inſtead of them he layes his impoſition now upon the magiſtrate and leaves him not ſo much as the power to will nor chuſe; but he muſt govern by the laws of the author of the Eccleſiaſtical Politie †. He “ muſt

VOL. II.

Q q

“ ſcourge

* Pref. Eccl. Pol. p. 241, 273, 319.

† Eccl. Pol. 321.

“ scourge them into order. He must chastise them out of their
 “ peevishness, and lash them into obedience*. There is no re-
 “ medy but the rod and correction †. He must restrain them
 “ with more rigour than unsanctified villains‡. He must ex-
 “ pose them to the correction of the publick rods and axes.”

Is this at last all the business why he hath been building up all this while that necessary, universal, uncontrollable, indispensable, unlimited, absolute power of governors, only to gratifie the humour and arrogance of an unnecessary, universal, uncontrollable, dispensable, unlimited, and absolute, arch-deacon? Still *must, must, must*: But what if the supream magistrate won't? Why, *must* again ||, eight times at least in little more than one page, and thorow his whole book proportionably. This is (and let him make a quibble on't if he please) like Doctor Rabelais his setting Julius Cæsar to beat mustard; and just as worshipful an employment, if he should prefer his Majesty from his kingdom and Whitehall to the government of his ancient palace of Bridewell. But laws and impositions he saith signifie nothing without penalties, nor these without acting up roundly by rigorous executions. Therefore that he might be true to his own principles, if the supream magistrate be disobedient, he hath provided against him too pretty severely. He hath denounced that in that case men deserve to perish like Sardanapalus. That such a prince deserves to be king of the
 4 night,

* Eccl. Pol. p. 325. † Idem, 272. ‡ Idem, 219. || Idem, 271.

night, and to conclude, he affirms that princes unless they will be resolute, that is, to do what he would have them, they must not govern *. 'Tis come to *noli igitur regnare*: they had need to take heed of him it seems, and how they behave themselves. But they may very well take all this kindly of him, and as an honour, for it is no less authority than he exercises over God Almighty. For he will have it that God too “ must of necessity have vested princes in at least as much power as was absolutely necessary to the nature and ends of government†.” And what the author’s ends are, we have and shall take occasion more particularly to examine hereafter.

What needs there further for evidence in this matter, or if men would out of love to justice be more exactly informed, let them but read, if their patience will not last longer, the contents at least of the several chapters of his Ecclesiastical Politie, in this and the other matters. It is sufficient punishment for some offenders to be placed in publick with their book, or its title affixed before them. But because he will not be satisfied with that, I shall presume so far on my readers as to trace him thorow the maze of what in the Reproof he would answer. He insults first because he saith ‡ I expose an innocent and undeniable proposition of his, that the magistrate hath such a power as is before described to govern and conduct the consciences of his sub-

Qq 2

jects

* Eccl. Pol. p. 271.

† Idem. p. 40.

‡ Reproof, p. 3.

jects in affairs of religion ; and yet I say not a word in its confutation : but he forgets that, where I quote that, I in the very next line subjoyn thus, and page 22, he explains himself more fully ; “ That unless princes have power to bind their subjects
 “ to that religion that they apprehend most advantageous to
 “ publick peace and tranquillity, and restrain those religious
 “ mistakes that tend to its subversion, they are no better than
 “ statues and images of authority *.” And this I several times inculcated into him ; but of this he takes not the least notice, I warrant you : ’tis all hushed. Is not this now a candid reprover ? but because I know he will hereupon be wriggling, I will shew him that these words cannot be interpreted otherwise by him than according to their first appearance and full latitude. He cannot mean it in matters of ceremony, which indeed he ought to have kept to, but that the subject it seems turned into an argument, and led him further to confess and speak out what was in the bottom. For concerning ceremonies he saith indeed, “ That
 “ it is absolutely necessary that governors injoyn matters
 “ of no great moment and consequence in themselves,
 “ thereby to avoid the evil that would naturally attend upon
 “ on their being not enjoined : so that when they are
 “ determined though perhaps they are of no great use to
 “ the common-wealth in themselves, yet they have at
 “ least this considerable usefulness, as to prevent many
 “ great

* Rehearsal Transposed, p. 97.

“ great mischiefs that would probably follow if they were
 “ not determined * :” A most memorable passage, and that
 deserves to be recorded as the full sum and state of the con-
 troversie. Yet he most ingenuously professes that “ all that
 “ concerns religious worship is no part of religion itself, but
 “ only an instrument, &c. and therefore though the Chris-
 “ tian laws command us by some exterior signs to express
 “ our interior piety, yet they have no where set down
 “ any particular expressions of worship and adoration. † ”
 So also “ all rituals and ceremonies and postures, and
 “ manners of performing the outward expressions of devo-
 “ tion are not in their own nature capable of being parts
 “ of religion ‡ .” And thus in many other places : so that he
 hath gained nothing by the first objection which he hath
 raised but a proposition not so undeniable, nor very inno-
 cent, that the prince hath power to bind his subjects to that
 religion which he apprehends most advantageous, &c. || .
 His next exception against me is very material, that I have
 quoted so many passages out of his book. It has I believe
 indeed angered him, as it has been no small trouble to me :
 but how can I help it ? I wish he would be pleased to teach
 me an art (for if any man in the world, he hath it) to
 answer a book without turning over the leaves (for that
 in a former answer offended him) or without citing the pas-
 sages : in the mean time if to transcribe so much out of
 5 him

* Eccl. Pol. p. 302. † Idem, p. 99. ‡ Idem. p. 205. || Reproof, p. 6.

him must render a man, as he therefore stiles me, a *scandalous plagiarist*, I must plead guilty: but by the same law whoever shall either be witness or prosecutor, in behalf of the king, for treasonable words, may be indited for an highwayman. After this he asks me roundly whether I do seriously believe that his Majesty has no power in matters of religion. Let him first make good his own assertions, which I have charged him with, and then I will tell him more of my mind; yet because he questions me of my belief (which I believe he never yet did to any man in his own parsonages, or either at Ickham or Chartham) I do however count myself obliged to give him some answer, as much as he can challenge of me; that is, I do most certainly believe that the supream magistrate hath some power, but not all power in matters of religion. And particularly to advance so much further to our author of the Ecclesiastical Politie, I do not believe that princes have power to bind their subjects to that religion that they apprehend most advantageous. And I will give him a reason too of this my belief. He himself saith (and it is worthy to be taken good notice of) “that the Fanaticks of late have so embroiled Christendom, “that Christian princes begin to be of a persuasion, that “Christianity is an enemy to government*.” Now it is therefore to be presumed, that he is very conversant and intimate with all the princes of Christendom. But I suppose
that

* Eccl. Pol. p. 179.

that they revealed this secret of state to him only in confidence, for I never before heard of it in publick : and it is not so ingenuously or prudently done of him to proclaim in print the subject of a familiar discourse, and private conference with them. This sure will make princes more cautious for the future, whom they chuse for their ministers, and to believe that even he, unless he be better at keeping a secret, is not so fit to be of their privy counsel ; no not in affairs ecclesiastical. But if it be so (as who dare contrövert it after so authentical authority as the author's of the Ecclesiastical Politie) that princes are indeed perswaded that Christianity is an enemy to government, it is not so safe to acknowledge that they have power to bind to what religion they apprehend most advantageous. Especially if it should chance that so pliable a gentleman should be at their elbow, who, out of excess of conformity, indulges the greatest non-conformity imaginable. " We condemn", saith he, " neither Turks nor Papists for their forms and postures of adoration (unless they fall under one or both of the obligations aforesaid.) Let them but address the same worship to its proper object, and we will never stand stiffly with them about their outward rites and ceremonies of its expression, but will freely allow them to conform to the significant customs of their country, as we do to those of ours. *" 'Tis most graciously done that his worship will allow

* Defence Eccl. Pol. p. 286.

allow them it: will he not found a trumpet too when he has done to give them leave to go to dinner? In due time sure there will be an hat for him to make him in requital the cardinal deacon. But why will he not carry the good humour thorow, and be as merciful to his neighbours? all abroad and nothing at home? There have been and are several rights and customs too in the countries of England, which do neither countenance vice, nor disgrace the Deity, and these dissenting people do address the same worship to its due and proper object. But (not to prevent myself) should he now, that is so clear as to matter of ceremonies, be backed at the same time with another fellow-prebend of his, no less frank in religion, who should tell the princes that he abhors being a papist as much as being a presbyterian *, and will as soon be a Turk, as he will be either; what might become of us, if the princes were satisfied of their own power, and of these mens discretion? it might breed no small alteration in the affairs of Christendom. For whatsoever the papists be, there are many things to be said why the Turks is a very advantageous religion.

Then he quotes his Majesties declaration to make good his —“ making use of that supream power in ecclesiastical “ matters, which is not only inherent in the crown, but has “ been declared and recognized to be so by several statutes “ and acts of parliament †.” I honour the quotation, and
am

* Dr. Pierce against Baxter, p. 167.

† Reproof, p. 3.

am come not long since from swearing religiously to own that supremacy. And it is surely the more valid for having received from the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie this confirmation. Only it might have been wished that all his books had not been writ directly counter to it, and under pretence of gratifying him with titles he had not cut him out of the exercise and liberty of his jurisdiction. But having in his Ecclesiastical Politie created himself perpetual dictator, *nequid res clerica detrimenti capiat*, and marching every where with four and twenty rods and axes before him, he deposes the consul to be indeed both his *Magister Equitum* and his *Pontifex Maximus*: but all along speaks in the *us* and the *we* of himself, and treats the good civil uncontrollable magistrate with the *must, must*, to evidence his own rigorous superiority. And in that only place where he seems to give the magistrate some little license, he doth it with so ill a grace, and stigmatizes both the magistrate and the people with such a mark and character, that it would put a generous prince upon some deliberation whether he were best to make use of an authority so ignominiously granted. For all that is to be obtained is this and in these terms *: “Should any prince through unhappy miscarriages in the state be brought into such straits and exigencies of affairs as that he cannot restrain the headlong inclinations of his subjects without the hazard of raising such

* Eccl. Pol. p. 63, 64.

“ commotions and disturbances as perhaps he can never be
 “ able to allay, and so should be forced in spite of himself
 “ to indulge them their liberty in their fancies and persua-
 “ sions about religion ; yet, unless he will divest himself of
 “ a more material and more necessary part of his authority,
 “ than if he should grant away his power of the militia, or
 “ his prerogative of ratifying civil laws ; unless, I say, he
 “ will thus hazard his crown, and make himself too weak
 “ for government by renouncing the best part of his supre-
 “ macy, he must lay an obligation upon all persons to whom
 “ he grants this religious freedom, to profess that it is
 “ matter of meer favour and indulgence, and that he has as
 “ much power to govern all the publick affairs of religion
 “ as any other matters that are either conducive or prejudi-
 “ cial to the publick peace and quiet of the common-
 “ wealth. And if they be brought to this declaration
 “ they will but confess themselves (to say no worse) turbu-
 “ lent and seditious persons, by acknowledging that they
 “ refuse their obedience to those laws which the supream
 “ authority has just power to impose.” I know not whe-
 ther all these solemnities were duely observed in the late de-
 claration ; or whether the failing in some of these rituals
 may have rendered it less sacred. But our author’s conces-
 sion here looks something like the cardinal Antonio’s suf-
 frage, when he could not have his man chosen : *Sia dun-
 que Pamfilio papa al nome del diavolo.* However this, such

as it is, joyned with the former quotation does amount to some kind of sanction, and the parties concerned may do well to consider of it.

He inquires next “whether I have never read or heard
 “of any publick disturbances, under pretence of religion *.”
 Yes I have, and whosoever shall do so deserves to be severely
 punished. “Whether I have not heard of the merry pranks
 “of John of Leyden and the Anabaptists of Germany †.”
 Yes, and they were handled as they deserved. Nay, more-
 over I have heard of the Anabaptists too of New-England,
 in a book printed in the year 1673, intituled “Mr. Baxter
 “baptized in blood,” which came out under the license of
 the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie; being therefore as
 is to be supposed a book of theological nature. It was in-
 deed a piece of Ecclesiastical History, which he thought, it
 seems, very fit “to reconcile to the present juncture of af-
 “fairs, and recommend to the genius of the age: faith-
 “fully relating the cruel, barbarous and bloody murder of
 “Mr. Baxter, an orthodox minister, who was killed by the
 “Anabaptists and his skin most cruelly flead off from his
 “body.” And yet from beginning to end there never was
 a compleater falsehood invented. But after the author of the
 Ecclesiastical Politie had in so many books of his own in-
 deavoured to harangue up the nation into fury against ten-
 der consciences, there could not have been contrived by
 R 1 2 the

* Reproof, p. 7.

† Idem, p. 8.

the wit of man, any thing more hopeful to have blooded them upon the Nonconformists than such a spectacle, and at the end of his orations to flourish the skin of an orthodox minister in this manner flea'd off by the Anabaptists. So that *se non era vero fu ben trovato*. And in good earnest I dare not swear but it was the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie's own handy work. Several words I observe that he frequently and peculiarly makes use of in his other books, "concerns, villains, villanies, booby, &c." But, as for his "brisk and laboured periods," they may be traced every where. What say you to this for example? "As the profession of the gospel is a most sacred thing, the doctrine of the gospel a most holy rule, the author of our religion an exemplar and pattern of meekness : so when Christians renounce this sacred profession, lay aside this Holy Gospel, and abrenunciate Christ the pattern of meekness, they soon become the most desperate villains in the world *." (Ay, very truly said, were it but rightly applied) never in my life did I read any thing that more lively expresses and nicks the energy of our author's sense, or the rotundity and cadence of his numbers : and so in many places more too long to be instanced. And indeed what reason could there be, what likelihood that any other man should go so far out of the way with such a book to him who was the most improper licenser of things of that nature? unless he

he may have therefore been thought the most proper licenser, because he had given so many testimonies as books of his good inclination to such matters ; and that (not only in history, but even in doctrine too) he did not so nearly consider the truth as the interest. And therefore, if perhaps he were not the author, yet I dare undertake that when he came to the licensing of that pamphlet, he felt such an expansion of heart, such an adlubescence of mind, and such an exaltation of spirit, that betwixt joy and love he could scarcely refrain from kissing it. And this no man living can deny, that either if he thought there were any fault in it, he took care to correct and fit it for the press with that advantage that it came out, or else he found it so satisfactory, that it past his approbation without any amendment, and so transporting, that he forgot to keep a copy for his own justification. And truly, had it not chanced that there was present and immediate proof upon the place to convict the forgery as soon as published, it might probably have had the effect for which it was designed. However, no thanks to the licenser, who either was also the author, or the more criminal of the two ; by how much the licenser is always presumed to have the stricter inspection, the better judgement, and more honesty, and is therefore intrusted by my Lord Archbishop to give the stamp of publick authority. So that whereas this author saith that, * “ had we but an
“ act

* Eccl. Pol. p. 76.

“act of parliament to abridge preachers the use of fulsome
 “and luscious metaphors, it might perhaps be an effectual
 “cure of all our distempers,” (what of the dull and lazy
 one too?) “let not the reader smile at the oddness of the
 “proposal.” (Neither, is not that lawful before it come
 to be enacted, as certainly it will upon his recommendation?)
 I must rather say, that had we but an act of parliament to
 abridge licensers from publishing falsehoods, how sweet
 soever and luscious, and to command and enable them to
 authorize truth, there would be a sensible amendment in our
 modern History, Polity, and Theology. I know he will
 take it unkindly that this should be revived after, he will
 say, he hath given so ample satisfaction since for it in his
 testimonial to the contrary. But he may please to consider
 that this was since the late act of general pardon; that it
 all happened since the writing of the Reproof; that he
 hath only given a masterly certificate as it were from
 a Justice of Peace, instead of making an humble recantation
 as an offender; that it is but the same law which he every
 where would exact of the Nonconformists, and the same
 right which he does Mr. B. in the Preface to Bishop Bram-
 hall. Had he but, as they say indeed he complimented
 the Anabaptists on this occasion, so printed it too, “that
 “he esteemed them to be the nearest to truth of all the
 “Dissenters from the church of England,” it had been
 some sign of penitence and integrity, and amounted to some
 degree of restitution.

From

From this of the Anabaptists, he falls as severely upon the word *unhoopable*, which I, it seems, used in representing his *untimited*, &c. But whereas I only threw it out like an empty cask to amuse him, knowing that I had a whale to deal with, and lest he should overset me; he runs away with it as a very serious business, and so moyles himself with tumbling and tossing it, that he is in danger of melting his sperma ceti. A cork, I see, will serve without an hook; and instead of an harping-iron, this grave and ponderous creature may, like eels, be taken and pulled up only with bobbing. What adoe he makes with tubs, kilderkins, hogsheds, and their dimensions! that you might suspect him first to have served as gager of the Lambeth brewing? I wonder that he should descend to so low employment: but even that prudent Emperor Claudius published an edict *De bene picandis doliis*. And I perceive that a person of considerable ecclesiastical tunnage did very lately “resem-
 “ble the church of England with its ceremonies, to a vessel,
 “which *must* of *necessity* be composed of staves, hoops,
 “withs and pins: but if the pins were pulled out, then of
 “consequence the withs slacken, the hoops ungird, and the
 “staves fall all asunder into confusion,” so that you see the trope of an hoop is not so apocryphal. And I should have thought that, if not out of respect to the church of England; yet had it been only out of reverence to Cornelius his tub among the rest, it might have become the author

of the Ecclesiastical Politie upon this occasion to have been something more serious.

And no less does he intangle himself in another line of mine, weak enough, I confess, yet though of but a single hair, strong enough to land him. 'Tis where I chanced to say, that "he hath given here the magistrate so infinite a power, that it is extended to impotency, as a streight line continued grows a circle." Here indeed, I am hard put to it; and I begin too late to be sensible of my rashness in provoking so terrible an adversary. But in good earnest I thought it enough when I wrote it, that in any small segment of a great circle the curvature is not perceptible, but rectifies more by how much the figure is extended. And at the same time I reflected, that if mine author should carp at it (for I foresaw very well all the way where he would take hold, and where he would as soon eat his fingers) I would refer him, as being an ecclesiastical mathematician, to Cardinal Cusanus his treatise *De Docta Ignorantia*, p. 10, c. xiv. where he might see in the diagram, *quod infinita linea sit triangulus*, and p. 11, c. xv. *quod ille triangulus sit circulus*. But if this will not satisfy him, let him try conclusions with his own girdle, which circumscribes something that is infinite.

And no less considerable is that which he undertakes "to maintain that all figures are hoopable:" and I, on the contrary

contrary will defend, that if he can make that good, he hath found out the circle of the quadrature.

From hence he runs out into plays, designing, as he told us his friend did of the “Friendly Debate,* to set off “his reasonings with a comical humour and pleasantness.” I must here acknowledge the defect of my reading. For Du Foy I have not heard of, and it might better have become him to have quoted, instead of the Conquest, the Archbishop of Granada. But for what he recites out of the Rehearsal and the Kings of Branford, I understand it better; and seeing he is pleased to alter the scene, I shall joyn with him, and try whether the humour of Bayes be so worn out that it may not give the auditory a second day’s diversion. For indeed, ’tis too ceremonious and tiresome to repeat so often upon all occasions the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie, and though I bear him great respect, yet I had rather of the two offend him than my readers. He does indeed complain of it something pathetically that I should have fixed that name upon him, and in good earnest, could I have yet in all this while invented any name more consonant and agreeable to his character, I would have changed for it. Neither did I at first make use of the Rehearsal so much in order to make merry with him, as for a more publick and serious advantage. For having ob-

VOL. II.

S s

served

* Pref. to Eccl. Pol. p. 16.

served that he and others of his coat did, for want either of reading, wit, or piety, as oft as they would be facetious, make bold with the Scripture ; thinking too, perhaps, that being so long acquainted, they might be more familiar with it ; I had a mind to show them by this example, that there was not so much need of prophaneness to be ridiculous, or to take the Sacred Writings in vain ; but that if they did but take up at adventure any book that was commonly read, known or approved of, they had the same and better opportunity than out of the Bible, to gather thence variety, allusion, and matter sufficient to make the people merry : and I hope I have attained my end in some measure. But beside this, I have now one reason more, and his own authority, to treat him under this title, he having been since so far in love with the name, as even to send to Colchester to procure him as much Bayes as would serve for a facing *. One thing, indeed, he objects with some fading colour, that there is an error in chronology, the play of the Rehearsal not having been made publick till after his first book came out, which yet is something excusable, seeing it was published before his second or third, and, to be sure, however, before mine. But you know, Mr. Bayes, that you wanted not the opportunity to see it long before it was printed ; and that comedy, as all judicious and lasting things ought, was long considered of ere it was thought fit to come abroad. Had

* Reproof, p. 20.

you followed the same example, and not divulged and promulgated your * Preface to Bishop Bramhall, as you confess “ before your thoughts were cool enough, or could possibly “ be so, to review or correct the indecencies either of its “ stile or contrivance;” had you “ but had either leisure or “ patience to examine it,” all this labour might have been spared betwixt you and me ; and I, for mine own part, should never have “ tired either yourself or the reader.” But that I may be quit with you for so weighty an *emendatio temporum* ; have you not observed that your Hicringill, or Gregory, though not published till after your Reproof, foretells of it nevertheless, threatening what a vengeance book was impending over me ? † “ That I must shortly be disciplined by another hand ; advising me to say my prayers, “ and tremble at the rod that was coming upon me, except “ I thought it the wisest way to save the *hangman* a labour.” It is a title so honourable that I should scarce have adventured to give it him ; but seeing he thinks fit to assume it, you may shift and divide it as you can betwixt you. This was, I confess, the most authentick way of prophecy imaginable, it being fulfilled beforehand, but the worst piece of chronology that ever I heard of. Indeed, Mr. Bayes, it appears to me very evident, that as I told you before, this Hicringill was your own book, and it was licensed too by yourself, as certainly as Baxter baptized in blood. The

* Preface to Bp. Bramhall, p. 2, and p. last.

† Gregory, p. 196.

strains and researches are all along exactly the same with those of the Reproof. Read but for example in the very same page, * in answer to what I say of the King of Poland's being obliged to wear that countrey habit. † "For which
 "unsufferable affront to his Majesties our gracious soveraign
 "his crown and dignity, hereditary and not elective, and at
 "the good will either of people or parliament, I leave him
 "to be chastized for this bold intrenchment and invasion of
 "our King's prerogative and title to his crown." Then read your Reproof. ‡ "This is an impudent intrenchment
 "upon his Majesties crown and prerogative; for the Polish
 "kingdom being hereditary and not elective, the parliament
 "deals with their Kings as, &c. Friend, by your politick
 "lectures you indanger your head, &c." Was there ever
 such a double pick-lock of the law, to find out such a dangerous inuendo? But thus those twin-books sympathize all thorow, although the Reproof was brought forth a considerable time before the other. Only, Mr. Bayes, as when in the Rehearsal you once resolved that for your "first Prologue you would come out in a long black veil, with an
 "huge hangman behind you with a furred cap, and his
 "sword drawn ||;" you could not for a long time determine whether the § Reproof or Hicringill should be "the Prologue for the Epilogue, or the Epilogue for the Prologue;"
 whether

* Gregory, p. 196.

† Idem, p. 244.

‡ Reproof, p. 498.

|| Rehearsal Comedy, p. 7.

§ Ibid.

whether your first or your second self should come foremost. But having several things in your two books, some fit as you thought to be said in another's person, and others in your own, you stood a great while thumbing the busk of your comfortable importance, whether, to divine "which of these two should first be hatched, and which leg should go first *." And from this irresolution and controversy arose this most gross and yet most subtil error in your chronology, which would require another *Scaliger* to reform it. The case is parallel, and you were even so puzzled betwixt those two books, as you were at Canterbury betwixt your two capacities, how you should take place not only of others, but even of yourself; whether as you were archdeacon, or as you were youngest prebend: and, though an alternative had been more advisable, you determined that in all interviews with yourself (which are not so frequent except in your looking glass) and in all publick solemnities among others, the arch-deacon should both in place and time have the precedence.

Having I hope thus far done you right in matter of chronology; I shall endeavour no less to satisfy you in point of comedy, and your politick argument concerning the danger of a distinct jurisdiction in civil affairs, and those of conscience which you very weightily fetch from the two kings of Branford. And therefore be pleased to accept as serious
a reply.

a reply from the same author: "To conclude, Sir, the place
 "you fill has more than amply exacted the talents of a wary
 "pilot, and all these threatening storms, which like im-
 "pregnant clouds do hover over our heads (when they
 "once are grasped but by the eye of reason) melt into
 "fruitful showres of blessings on the people *". Or if you
 have something to object against this, take your answer from
 the kings themselves at their restauration. "Now mortals
 "that hear how we tilt and career, with wonder will fear
 "the event of such things as shall never appear †." For
 no less causeless are the apprehensions which you raise up,
 Mr. Bayes, concerning consciencious people under an equal
 government.

I cannot now but take some notice of another argument,
 your threatenng me here and in several other places with the
 loss of my ears ‡, which however are yet in good plight, and
 apprehend no other danger, Mr. Bayes, but to be of your
 auditory. But it is no less than you have projected against
 all the Nonconformists, to the great prejudice of the na-
 tion, in wasting so unseasonably so much good timber to
 make whipping posts for them and pillories. This hath
 been a considerable part indeed of the Ecclesiastical Politie,
 and doubtless a most effectual means of conversion, and
 bringing men over to the church of England. I cannot
 tell where you have learnt it, unless from the wisdom and
 piety

* Rehearsal Comedy, p. 12. † Idem, p. 44. ‡ Reproof, p. 25, 31, 76.

piety of the Tartars; in the year 1240 *. Though they left upon every man's head one ear standing, yet filled no less than nine huge sacks with the ears that they cut off of the Christians. But there is no peril as far as I perceive to either of us; for my ears, Mr. Bayes, do not so much as glow for all your talking of them, and I will secure yours at least upon one account; for you are so far from running away like † Evagrius for fear of a bishoprick, that much less will you like Ammonius cut off one of your own ears to render yourself incapable of that office.

There follows one thing more which I know is personally intended to me, but you have couched it so darkly, that at first I could myself scarce understand it. You tell of an antique medal,

“ On the reverse whereof was graved

“ Th' alliance betwixt Christ and David ‡.

And desire me to tell you in what emperor's time it was coined. Why, it was as I remember in the year 1650, and of the government of the people of England precedent and present the same. But if you would hereby insinuate any thing either concerning myself or my father, I shall once for all unriddle in two or three lines the misterie of this your quotation, because otherwise such nodding reflexions impress the reader more effectually than your more brisk
and:

* Del Rio, p. 144.

† Socrates, l. 4. c. 18. ‡ Reproof, p. 27.

and laboured calumnies which at other times you word more plainly and vent more openly against us. This therefore is a greater error in chronology than your former ; for as to myself I never had any, not the remotest relation to publick matters, nor correspondence with the persons then predominant, until the year 1657, when indeed I entered into an employment, for which I was not altogether improper, and which I considered to be the most innocent and inoffensive toward his Majesties affairs of any in that usurped and irregular government, to which all men were then exposed. And this I accordingly discharged without disobliging any one person, there having been opportunity and endeavours, since his Majesties happy return, to have discovered had it been otherwise. But as to my father, he dyed before ever the war broke out, having lived with some measure of reputation, both for piety and learning ; and he was moreover a conformist to the established rites of the Church of England, though I confess none of the most over-running or eager in them. I desire you, Mr. Bayes, to make my excuse to the readers for having troubled them so far with my private affairs, by your occasion. But whether they will so easily admit my excuse for you, I know not, you having by the servility of your performances since manifested, that, had you then been of age sufficient, you would not have declined a more homely employment, which as you may read in Philip de Comines, another Oliver,

a barber, discharged under Lewis the Eleventh. For the rest as to the distich you have here quoted, whosoever was its author, it might better have become your divinity to have suppressed so profane an allusion ; but that, as I have told you before, and shall often have occasion, you have a singular snickering after Scripture drollery. It may seem to some by the manner of your expression as if you had a mind to ascribe it to me : but I resign all my interest in it to you, and most men that are conversant about town know very well who was the author, who dyed some years since : and it may concern you, for some reasons not out of respect to be named, to take heed that you come not to resemble him in two of his capacities.

There remain still behind some figures of brass which you bestow upon me, as *Colossus of brass*, in requital to which I can only return you *colosseros*. Brass upon brass is false heraldry : but salt upon salt is not. *Brazen brow*, *Out-brazen*, *Brass-copper*, and I know not how many more of the same metal and statuary. I cannot possibly learn or imagine where you have improved your talent to such proficiencie, unless perhaps you have practised with a modern divine who is said to have appeared not many years ago, and preached in the copper mines of Sweden. And indeed such is your performance here all along, and much more hereafter when you treat concerning the most sacred

arguments, that I suspect it is not all your own ; but (though I shall not therefore call you a *scandalous plagiarist*) that you have attracted by force of phantasy some extraordinary spirit to your assistance. As Cicero said on another occasion,

———*Multa quidem ipse,
Multa sed & Dæmon tibi suggerit.*———

So that I hope the readers will in so unequal a contest assist me also, at least with their good wishes, and should I be worsted in such discourse or rather absolutely decline it, that yet they will not think the worse of me. Had he but wrote like a man only, I might possibly have answered him ; but where there appears something more than humane in the business, I may well be excused.

But though in his railing he is more than man, he hath as moderate and reasonable a reasoning as other mortals : and that being therefore more proportionable to my weakness, I shall deal with as soon as I can find it ; for it hath that advantage, that it is for the most part invisible. But in the mean time I shall, to show him how justly I might have declined all this trouble, quote him two authors, the one civil, the other ecclesiastical, so nearly related to himself and this controversy, that till he has answered them, I account myself under no obligation. The first his fellow

chaplain

chaplain Doctor Tomkins, who in the last act at Oxford, the question being, *An summæ potestates civiles gaudeant potestate clavium*, held it in the negative, and being urged with all the testimonies and arguments to the contrary out of the Ecclesiastical Politie, the professor was fain to help him out at a dead lift, disavowing his authority in the face of the whole country and university in plain terms: *non sumus hujus auctoritati*. Now where two persons so eminent and equal in learning; the two say-masters of orthodoxy, and of whom all theology must ask license, are of so contrary opinion in the very fundamentals of Ecclesiastical government, is it not time to have a general vacation, and that all private process should be respited till so dangerous a division betwixt the two pins of the church of England, be again cemented? The other is the supposed father of the author of the Ecclesiastical Politie (for as long as his book is nameless, I can always speak of him only at random) in that tract before mentioned, "The government of the people of England precedent and present the same." It was writ to spirit men to subscribe to the engagement "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth as then established without a king or the house of lords:" and there he asserts that, *populus suo magistratu prior est tempore, natura & dignitate: quia populus magistratum constituit, & quia populus sine magistratu esse potest, sed magi-*

stratus sine populo non potest esse. Also out of another classical author, *vindiciæ contra tyrannos*, he affirms : *Reges sunt a populo, & sunt constituti causa populi.* More he undertakes to prove that the kings of England had no negative voice rightfully and by law, but that it was contrary to the law and their oath at coronation. And then *a fortiori*, that the lords neither can have any negative upon the people. That acts of parliament may pass and be valid without consent of the lords spiritual : and many other passages of an higher nature, if higher could be, which I cite not, lest the very reading of them should prejudice the publick, that book being the very quintessence of a sub-committeeman turned serjeant at law, and of the high court of justice. It befitted our author to have washed off the blood from his own threshold before he had accused others : and no man is engaged to answer his necessary, universal, uncontrollable, unappealable, indispensable, unlimited, absolute magistrate, as long as his own father stands upon record against him, and he “ spends not so much as “ one quibble in his confutation.” Nevertheless I will supererogate and use all the means possible to find some more cleanly spot in him : though indeed he does all over so wallow and coat himself in dirt, that he is almost impenetrable, and, unless his skin were flead off like Baxter’s, there is no touching him without pollution.

He

· He expostulates with me for “perverting the whole design of his book*.” What, do I know the designs that are managed betwixt him and his book when they are together in private? But when any discourse is made publick, it must abide the common interpretation: and *sit liber reus, testis & judex*. You know very well that, though no man ever spoke more perspicuously and fully than Calvin concerning the obedience due to magistrates, yet for one particular passage, *de privatis hominibus semper loquor, nam si qui nunc sint populares magistratus*, &c. he is upon all occasions dressed up by yourself and others of your make as the bugbear of princes†. Therefore, Mr. Bayes, you should have done well to admonish your book, if it would needs be treating of government, yet by his example to have learnt discretion, and to weigh every word; for you cannot imagine what hurt a silly well-meaning book may do in the world far from its intention: but if it have on the contrary a felonious intention, and not having the fear of God before its eyes, as I doubt yours has not, you know then that it may do more mischief than you can ever make amends for. And this is all the matter depending betwixt your book and me, for ought I can perceive by you. The contest is rather of the truth of fact, than the truth of opinion; and a dispute rather of the eye than the understanding. Your book hath said so and so concerning the magistrate, as you have seen in my

* Reproof, p. 17, and p. 30.

† Idem, p. 381.

my former quotations. And now you come, and would bear me down with more than ordinary confidence that your book said no such thing, or else you understand its sense better than itself. Therefore pray let us see, Mr. Bayes, what you have to alledge : but in the mean time what have my readers and I to do but to pity one another ? I must quote all over again, and they read it all, and you will affirm and deny, deny and affirm, without any regard to truth or honesty ; and yet all this and more we must indure out of love to justice. But I hope at least, Mr. Bayes, that if I do convince you that the quotations are right on my part, you will be so ingenuous as to put me upon no further trouble, but confess your book misunderstood you, and was in an error. For if there be no fault in the matter, why should you deny it ?

* You say, that what you affirmed of the magistrate's authority to take upon him the exercise of the priesthood, was only † “ as things stood in the bare state of nature : ” and, though you said the magistrate's power was antecedent to Christ, “ yet its continuance depends meerly upon his “ confirmation, in that ” (very politically said) “ whatever “ prince does not reverse a former grant, confirms it ‡. ” Let us see how it is possible that these should either be your words or meaning. “ The priestly and the royal office in “ the

* Reproof, p. 25.

† Idem, p. 27.

‡ Eccl. Pol. p. 31, 32.

“ the first ages of the world, and for well nigh 2500. years,
 “ descended together and upon the same person.” Then
 “ this” same “ power, because it must be seated some-
 “ where, can only properly belong to him in whom the
 “ supreme power resides.” Then : “ For he alone having
 “ authority to assign to every subject his proper function,
 “ and among others this of the priesthood, as he may trans-
 “ fer the exercise thereof to another, so may he, if he please,
 “ reserve it to himself.” And therefore “ this the wisdom
 “ of the elder ages always practised.” Can there be any
 thing more plain under heaven, than that you distinguish
 the elder times against these, and having done so, then assert
 that what was constant in those former times remains still
 the same, and that of necessity ? But go on : “ this” same
 “ power was firmly established in the world by the unaltera-
 “ ble dictates of *natural* reason and universal practice and
 “ consent of nations.” And then : * “ though in the
 “ Jewish commonwealth, for peculiar reasons of state, the
 “ two offices of king and priest were separated, yet the power
 “ of the priest remained subject to the other †.” But this
 was only a present interruption. For then : “ our Saviour
 “ at his birth came not to diminish the *natural* rights of
 “ princes,” so that all of them (for the Jewish common-
 wealth was already dissolved by the Roman power, and by
 his coming) were reinstated certainly in the royal and
 priestly

* Eccl. Pol. p. 35.

† Idem, p. 36.

priestly office as before, * “for he came not to set up any
 “new models of polity.” But however, “when Christi-
 “anity had prevailed long after to be the imperial religion,
 “then its government began to resettle where † *nature* had
 “placed it:” nay, so far it went that “therefore the Divine
 “Providence did begin to withdraw the miraculous power
 “of the church ‡” (and you can tell us why too here, though
 the Jewish reasons of state, for some peculiar reason, you
 thought fit should be private;) “for the necessity ceased,
 “the power of miracles being now as well supplied by the
 “*natural* and ordinary power of the prince §.” And then
 came the Pope, as you told us before; and then came
 the Reformation, which was almost as bad it seems. For
 “though it wrought wonderful alterations in the Christian
 “world, yet it has not been able” (but you it seems have
 been able) “to resettle princes in their full and *natural*
 “rights in reference to the concerns of religion §.” Now,
 Mr. Bayes, what is become of your excuse, that you “af-
 “firmed this power in the bare state of nature **, but not
 “under the guidance of revelation, nor indifferently to all
 “ages and periods of the church, under whatsoever positive
 “laws and different institutions?” whereas your whole busi-
 ness has been to prove that princes and mankind are herein
 still under the bare state of nature, though your book perhaps
 did

* Eccl. Pol. p. 33.

† Idem, p. 48.

‡ Idem, p. 49.

§ Idem, p. 54.

§ Idem, p. 56.

** Reproof, p. 21.

did not intend it. But pray therefore reprove your book ;
 “ reprove even your Reproof ; and if that will not serve,
 “ take it under correction ;” but if it prove incorrigible,
 I know not what course I should advise you to take with such
 a rascal. For it hath said beside, “ To what purpose should
 “ Christ grant princes a new commission, when this power
 “ was already so firmly established in the world by the unal-
 “ terable dictate of natural reason, &c.” And this perhaps,
 out of your natural indulgence to your own book, you took
 no notice of. But by this means what becomes of that
 confirmation of * Christ’s which you speak of ? For, as
 your book argues very strongly, it must have been either an
 usurpation or impertinent. And whereas you say, “ that
 “ though the magistrates were vested with an ancient and
 “ antecedent right, yet its continuance, ever since our
 “ Saviour commenced his empire, depends merely upon
 “ his confirmation, in that whatsoever prince does not
 “ reverse a former grant, confirms it ;” howsoever the
 truth prove to be in fact, yet it is not much obliged
 to your argument. For that “ who does not reverse a
 “ former grant, confirms it,” supposes that the power of
 nature was equal, if not superior, to that of our Saviour.
 For where a new and superior power is introduced, all former
 grants are null, unless they be expressly confirmed. And
 so, if the power of Christ were superior to that of nature,

VOL. II.

U u

and

and he hath not positively confirmed that authority of the civil magistrate, it is absolutely extinguished, and the magistrate hath no power at all left him, but runs into a *præmunire* by exercising it. Beside, you call the original of the magistrate's authority, the "unalterable dictate of natural reason:" so Christ's confirmation could have signified nothing. For what is unalterable is unconfirmable; and yet this too was in the state of depraved nature. Nevertheless such is your inconsistency, that you own our * Saviour's authority to be superior. And it befitted you so to do; for, if you will believe him, "all power was given him in heaven and earth." And he did not confirm it, and therefore he did confirm it. For "the Scripture," you say, "rather supposes than asserts it," and "every prince not reversing a former grant, confirms it." This is your argument. Nay, but further, if you read p. 40, there is a solemn renunciation, as full as could be drawn up by counsel, of any power of Christ in the whole matter. † "We derive not therefore the magistrate's ecclesiastical jurisdiction from any grant of our Saviour's; but from an antecedent right wherewith all sovereign power was indued before ever he was born into the world." Here is an engagement with a witness, beyond that of 1650. Father's own son. And "will you be true and faithful to the government established, without Christ, &c.?" And is the

Reproof

* Eccl. Pol. p. 34.

† Idem. p. 40.

Reproof then writ to prove “ that the government of England precedent to Christ and present, is the same ? ” and, *ad subscribentes confirmandum, dubitantes infermandum, opposcentes convincendum ?* For in this I suppose ’twas not your book’s fault only, but you and it were both of the same opinion ; which is the reason that you say, “ We derive it “ not : ” that is sure you and your book. For if you meant it otherwise, you should have done well to shew your plenipotence from all those that authorized you. However, methinks, betwixt you and your book, you might have had more wit than to have excluded any grant of our Saviour’s, whatsoever, unless (as indeed you treat him like other princes and *crowned heads*, only allowing him a power something less than to others, and more moderate) you confine his everlasting kingdom to the day of his birth, and date his dominion that is infinite from *anno Domini* & *anno regni nostri primo*. And now after all this, I leave it to the most candid or severest reader to judge, whether for one in your case to affirm “ that “ you spoke of the magistrate’s exercising the priesthood in “ his own person, only in the bare state of nature ; ” and “ that you did not make the magistrate’s power independent “ herein from Christ ; ” be not a flat contradiction to yourself, and so outfacing to all ingenuity, that had you not first washed your face in Stygian water ; it were impossible for you to persist without blushing. And what detriment the church of England might suffer upon this occasion, I leave

it to themselves to confider. But I perceive fome are wifer than fome ; and, though you were fo forward as to undertake this fide of the argument, yet it was fo ordered betwixt you, or fomewhere elfe, that Dr. Tomkins fhould defend the contrary. For the church of England is fo intelligent, as not to truft all in one Doctor's bottom : but knows that it is good having two ftrings to the ecclefiaftical bow, that if one break, the other may hold.

Neither, confidering what you have thrown out upon this occafion, was it at all improperly faid by me, that if the King might exercife the priefthood in his own perfon, it was all the reafon of the world that he fhould too affume the revenue *. This, though it were the only paffage in my whole book that could poffibly be perverted to an ill fenfe in this matter, is by you and the reft of your Scaramuccios invidioufly applyed, and aggravated both here and in many other places at large, as if it had been ferioufly intended by me for his Majefties affuming the church revenue. Whereas it appears to have been meant quite contrary, and only to represent your malice in defaming the government, or thofe perfons eminently inftrumental under his Majefty both in church and ftate, as if there were fome fuch counfel or defign on foot ; and to fhew you how ridiculous your fear was (if it were not counterfeit) of any fuch matter, and to fright you fomewhat the more with your own argument.

For

* Reproof, p. 22.

For indeed though you accuse me as if I put his Majesty in mind to violate his coronation oath * for preserving the rights of the church, it was all that I said only to put you in mind, that, if the magistrate may exercise the priesthood in his own person, any such coronation oath was in itself invalid ; as being contrary to the unalterable dictates of natural reason ; and that, if he did exercise the priesthood himself, he was by that oath perjured, unless he himself also assumed the revenue. For though you are pleasant, and say that by the same reason he may as well, because he is the supream civil magistrate, assume the revenues of the laity ; the argument holds not ; for as much as the ecclesiastical maintenance is annexed to the function, and, this being extinguished, that devolves naturally upon the king ; or, the king exercising the function himself, the revenue is so much the more due to him and such other lay persons as he shall depute under him instead of the clergy. But this being a thing so dissonant to mine own and other mens ordinary conceptions, (though I shall show you in a fitter place here-after why you ought still to continue in the same opinion) I left you to be responsible for your own consequences : for that you may understand, Mr. Bayes, that I am none of those that, were I in capacity, could give any so pernicious advice, I tell you and desire you henceforward to take notice of it ; that I am so far from thinking envi-

ously

ously of the revenue of the church of England, that (though I will not as you do call that sacrilege which makes up the estates of so many of the nobility and gentry of England, and of which the church too hath its part, if it be sacrilege,) that I think in my conscience it is all but too little, and with with all my heart that there could be some way found out to augment it. But in the mean time, to tell you my heart (for what needs dissembling among friends?) I am inclinable to think, as the revenue now stands, there is sometimes an error in the distribution. And for example, I think it is a shame that such an one as you should for writing of political, flattering, persecuting, scandalous books, be recompensed with more preferment, than would comfortably maintain ten godly orthodox and conformable ministers, who take care of the peoples souls committed to their charge and reside among them. Whereas you, as being too great for your sacred employment, must be exercising it by your spiritual deputy or deputies, and one of them so notorious, that, though married, it was his usual practice, under pretence of studying late at night for his sermons, to lye with his maid Mary Parker before mentioned, and instead of instructing your parish in the "fruits of the Spirit," he gave them an example of the "works of the flesh," which are these, "adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, &c. *," so far indeed

excu-

* Gal. v. 19.

excusable, if, as it is said, after he had finished the work, he attempted to administer something to undo it again, and make the fruit abortive. You in the mean time, as if you were an exempt of the clergy, and as parson can transmit over the cure of souls to your curate, saunter about city and countrey whither your gilt coach and extravagance will carry you, starving your people and pampering your horses, so that a poor man cannot approach their heels without dying for it. I speak not of stale anachronisines, but of things that really happened all since the writing of your Reproof, and which deserve one better. For what reason can you alledge why you should gluttonize and devour as much as would honestly suffice so many of your brethren that take pains in the word, like the great eater of Kent, when you are either so unable or so dull and lazy that you do not one man's labour? This is the great bane and scandal of the church, that such livings as more immediately belong to it should be the worst supplied, and that you and some few ingrossers like you should represent yourselves by so ignorant and vicious curates, men not fit to be mentioned in the same collect, and upon whom indeed the spirit of grace cannot descend but by miracle; and while things are no better ordered, it is not strange at all if nonconformity take root and spread further among consciencious persons, nor that the revenue of the church, though in itself too slender, should nevertheless appear too great and envious by
the

the manner of distribution. This is more than I should have said, had not you by your unseasonable discourses drawn it out of me, but however is intended principally to yourself; though as long as the church shall not think fit to repress such writers, it is unavoidable but that some faults already too visible should be mentioned.

But to proceed: you say, that I have upbraided you, “with ascribing an infinite jurisdiction to princes without
“any regard to the divine laws *, and that you give an ecclesiastical authority to the civil magistrate absolutely
“paramount to any other jurisdiction; whereas you meant
“it, you say, only in defiance to the claim of any other
“humane power †.” What shall I answer in this case? Will you not remember that you say your “power of the
“prince is antecedent to Christ; that it was established
“such by the unalterable dictates of natural reason; that
“God of necessity must have given them such power?” If it be antecedent to Christ, how is it accountable to him? If established by natural reason, does it not result only from man as a loose and free agent however produced, and though from the vesicles of the earth yet acting by nature? and if God of necessity must give the magistrate this power, do you not make God accountable rather to him; and may not the magistrate bring his action against the Deity *de potestate imminuta*, or accuse him *læsæ majestatis*? So that
hereby

* Reproof, p. 20.

† Idem, p 15, and 16.

hereby the sum of your doctrine appears to be (if without offence I may name it) that your priestly and uncontrollable power of the civil magistrate is antecedent to Christ, contemporary to the world, nay at least co-eternal, if not pre-eternal, to God himself. And this is the more strongly confirmed by your asserting, which I told you of, that the “magistrate hath power to bind his subjects to that religion that he apprehends most advantageous to publick peace and tranquillity :” So that he may if he chuse his religion chuse his God too, unto whose jurisdiction he will be accountable, and if he begin to think as you say he does, “that Christianity is an enemy to government,” he may make use of paganism. But still you clamour “that when you asserted the soveraign power to be absolute and uncontrollable, ’twas not to be understood so in regard to God.” (Why then, pray do not brave it and justify yourself at this rate, but make your submission humbly, and acknowledge your offence as an honest man should do.) And that, “when you said it was absolute and unlimited, no man, unless he would give his mind to misunderstanding, could understand it in any other sense, than that it was not confined to matters purely civil, but extended its jurisdiction to matters of Ecclesiastical importance, (that is the word it seems in all senses, comfortable, close, ecclesiastical) upon which account alone you determined it to be absolute, universal and uncontrollable.” Why I perceive you did not, or would

not observe what I had all the while been driving at, and of what I was all along jealous ; that the thing would not end there, but that, as you had given to certain uses, and for certain valuable considerations, an universal and absolute power to the prince in ecclesiasticals, so you would, if it were but out of revenge, bestow the same upon him in civils.

But you say : “ * there was never a man of such im-
 “ modesty in the world to charge you with these things,
 “ whereas you know no writer ancient or modern that hath
 “ so vehemently and industriously asserted the contrary,
 “ spending two whole chapters in your first book, to prove,
 “ that the opinion of the unlimited humane authority was
 “ no less than rank atheism and blasphemy, and subverts
 “ the power of all government, and safety of all societies.”
 Ay a very good man are you : hold you there. But I hinted to you once before, Mr. Bayes, that this writing forsooth against atheism from the first hath stood you in very good stead, and under pretence of confuting Mr. Hobbs (who I believe could explain himself as innocently as you have done) you have ushered in whatsoever principles men lay to his charge, only disguised under another notion to make them more venerable. Nay, in good earnest, I do not see but your *Behemoth* exceeds his *Leviathan* some foot long, in whatsoever he saith of the power of the magistrate

trate in matters of religion and civils; I have that you have levied the invifible powers to your affiftance, the better to fright men out of their wits, their confciences and their proprieties. I have told you in my former book that I do really believe you are no atheist, and however I know you have fo much wit as to keep it to yourfelf, though not perhaps to avoid fome opinions, which if followed home, might in due time lead to it. But to what purpofe is it, atheifm, or not atheifm, and what difference in the matter, if under pretext of divinity an uncontrollable principle be infinuated and obtruded to the invafion of all the rights of mankind and privileges of reafon: if an unlimited and abfolute power be challenged in things of ecclefiaftical as well as civil, and of civil as well as thofe of ecclefiaftical confideration? and I think under one or other of thefe all are comprehended.

I have fomewhat a troublefome and unneceffary task herein, if I were to deal with a perfon of ordinary ingenuity; for his book is in print, and I have alfo in print charged this upon him, and nevertheless by this laft book he puts me again upon this double drudgery, to prove firft that he faid it, and afterwards to prove that he meant what he faid. But, though I know this is only a piece of his art, hoping to tire out the auditory, not out of any belief of his own innocence, yet a guilty perfon

ought not to be debarred from making the best of his own case, and I hope the readers will, by his tedious evasions and tergiversations in a thing so evident, be the rather provoked to do him justice. Having therefore sufficiently witnessed his words, I shall now proceed to manifest his intention. And to that purpose I shall alledge one or two material passages, the first in his first book, the Ecclesiastical Politie*.

He saith, “ ’Tis better to submit to the unreasonable impositions of Nero and Caligula, than to hazard the dissolution of the state.” What he means here by dissolution of the state, he might have done well to have expressed: but what the unreasonable impositions are, cannot be understood otherwise than either in matters of religion or of propriety, and how both those emperors acquitted themselves on those two accounts, appears in their history. For as to Nero, beside his personal vices, which can scarce be imitated or paralleled but by Caligula, I will but succinctly mention how he behaved himself to the publick in the course of his government. If men bequeathed nothing to him by their last wills and testaments in token of gratitude to the prince, he confiscated the whole estate, and fined all lawyers whatsoever by whose advice such wills had been drawn. He decreed, that, though there were never but one informer, it should suffice to convict men of treason, either for
words

* Eccl. Pol. p. 215.

words or actions. Whensoever he bestowed an office, he did it with these instructions: "You understand what I have need of, and therefore let us make it our business, that no man may have any thing which he can call his own." Beside so many particular instances of savage cruelty, he designed to cut off the heads of all the governors of provinces. To poyson the whole senate at a dinner. To burn the city, and at the same time to turn out wild beasts among the people to terrifie them from quenching the fire. A blazing star appearing, he resolved to divert the omen from his own head, by the massacre of all the nobility, and the most considerable persons in Rome. He did cause the city of Rome to be set on fire, and so carelessly, that divers of his officers, being taken with fire and flax in their hands, and in the very act, yet were let go for fear of offending him, and some houses not being so easily burnt, he took care to have them beaten down with engines. And, though it was manifest how it was designed and acted, he derived the crime of all this upon the innocent Christians. He sacrilegiously took the donatives from the temples, and melted down the images of the very tutelar gods of Rome to make money. He contemned all religions, and particularly is reckoned to have been the first persecutor of Christianity. He affirmed publicly, that "none of his predecessors had known their own power:" the very same words in a manner, and spoke in the same sense as those of

our author, that “governors have not been thoroughly instructed in the nature and extent of their power* :” and the other : “† that no nation hath rightly understood and duely managed government because they have not chained “their Nonconformists to the oare, and condemned them “to the galleys.” The conclusion of this tragedy is common ; how Nero was by the senate proclaimed an enemy to the state, and sentenced to be punished after the ancient manner ; that is, to be stripped naked, and his head held up with a fork, till he were whipped unto death ; but this by another death he prevented. This is I suppose one, Mr. Bayes, of your uncontroulable magistrates, these his unreasonable impositions, and this your dissolution of the government ; and you think it was better that this Nero had still reigned, than that Galba should have succeeded. I would all of you that are of that mind had such governors. And thus much concerning Nero.

But now as to Caligula and his impositions. What disposition he was of he manifested by his “wishing that all “the people of Rome had but one neck :” beside that, he was used to “lament the unhappiness of his time, because it was not signalized by any publick calamity ;” (as if there needed any other calamity but his government, and he himself had not abundantly supplied the defect of any other misfortune) “whereas,” said he, “the reign of
“Augustus

* Eccl. Pol. p. 58.

† Idem, p. 223.

“Augustus was felicitated by the defeat of Varus and his
 “legions, as Tiberius his was memorable for the fall of
 “the amphitheatre at Fidenæ” (in the ruins of which twenty
 thousand men perished) “but my unfortunate prosperity will
 “leave me in danger of being inglorious after death and for-
 “gotten.” But he took good and effectual care to the con-
 trary. He was often heard to say, that he “would cer-
 “tainly reduce things into such a condition, that the law-
 “yers should not have any thing to say or do, but what he
 “thought just and equitable:” and he was as good as his
 word. The things may be seen in particular in his history :
 his whole reign having been a pandect of rapine and tyranny,
 and his rule by which he proceeded, “that he might do
 “what he pleased with whom he pleased:” As to the “fa-
 “cred rites and their presidents,” take one instance. The
 priest being ready to offer a sacrifice at the altar, he took
 upon himself, “according to the unalterable dictates of na-
 “tural reason, to exercise the priesthood in person,” and
 having vested himself as in the power, so too in the sa-
 cerdotal habit, he took up the mallet, and feigning to
 knock the beast down, in stead thereof struck down the of-
 ficer who stood by with the knife. Which should methinks
 be a sufficient caution unto churchmen hereafter, how they
 trust the civil magistrate with exercising the tooles of the
 priesthood. But this is nothing in respect of what follows.
 He commanded that the statue of Jupiter Olympius among
 many:

many other should be brought over from Greece, and their heads taken off to place his in the room of them. He seated himself often in the middle betwixt Castor and Pollux to be adored by the people. He built a temple to himself, and appointed priests to his own divinity: and even then there wanted not ambitious men, who by favour aspired to that office, or purchased it by simony, upon any ecclesiastical vacancy. The sacrifices appointed for his own worship, were peacocks, pheasants, and all other the delicatest fowl, and of greatest rarity. He took upon him the ensigns of all the gods: the lion from Hercules, the caps from the Castors, the ivy and thyrsis from Liber, the caduceus from Mercury, the sword, helmet and buckler from Mars, the crown, bow, arrows and graces from Apollo. He made love to the Moon, and pretended to her embraces. But more than this he commanded that his image should be set up in the temple at Jerusalem, and that the temple should be dedicated only to him, and he there to be worshiped under the name of the New Jupiter. He caused his statues moreover to be placed in the Jews synagogues to be there adored, insomuch, that the great Grotius does most accurately deduce and expound the 2 Thessalonians, c. ii. 3d and 4th verses concerning him (though differing therein from other interpreters) and that St. Paul adventured to call him the “son of perdition, that is worthy to die in the most miserable manner,” as he did afterwards, “and
“ the

“ the adversary that is the enemy of God :” and that
 “ his fitting as God in the temple of God was to be
 “ meant of his command to erect his image there, though
 “ it were not effected, yet however seeing he did his
 “ best to have it done.” And this, Mr. Bayes, is
 your other magistrate, who “ understood it seems the na-
 “ ture and extent of his power * ;” and, as you would
 have princes do, “ made inflexible laws under the severest
 “ penalties, and acted up roundly to them †.” But when
 all people were weary of him, one Cassius Chærea, a tri-
 bune of one of the prætorian cohorts, for many affronts
 received from him, and among others that of giving Pria-
 pus and Venus for the word, undertook his death, and so
 happened the dissolution of his government. Nevertheless
 I shall not decide here what submission was to be made ei-
 ther to Nero’s or his impositions ; but only remember what
 your Doctor Heylin said concerning King Edward the Sixth.
 “ It shall be left to the readers judgement whether the king
 “ was either better studyed in his own concerns, or
 “ seemed to be worse principled in matters which concerned
 “ the church ‡.” And in another place, “ King Edward’s
 “ death I cannot reckon for an infelicity to the church of
 “ England, he being ill principled in himself, and easily in-
 “ clined to embrace such counsells §.” Neither will you, I
 hope, affirm that the loss of these two emperors was any

VOL. II.

Y y

grievous

* Eccl. Pol. p. 21. † Idem, p. 271. ‡ Heylin, Ref. p. 132.

§ Idem, Pref. Ref. p. 4.

grievous judgment upon the Roman commonwealth, or a very sad affliction to the state of Christianity. This same Caligula was he that took so great affection to Incitatus, a fleet and metalled courser, that beside a stable of marble, a manger of ivory, housing cloaths of purple, and a poictrell of precious stones, he furnished him an house very nobly, and appointed him a family to entertain those who rendered visits to his *equinity* and his *binnibility* (words of yours on another occasion) and to treat such guests as were invited, with the more magnificence. Nay, so far did he carry on this humour, that it is said, had he not been prevented, he designed to have made this race horse consul; as fit however for that office, as his master to be emperor. What pity it is, Mr. Bayes, that you did not live in that fortunate age, when desert was so well rewarded and understood, when preferments were so current! Certainly one of your heels and mettle would quickly have arrived to be something more than an archdeacon. If an horse had so great a court, and so rich furniture, and stood so fair for election, what might not such a one as you have expected! Give me leave, Mr. Bayes, having been so long in your debt, to requite and cap you with an ancient distich: but if I thou you this once, it is not out of disrespect, but only to repeat it the more faithfully. Had you then lived,

“Thou shouldst have had a silver stye,

“And she herself have pigg’d thee by.”

So

So that there would have been no occasion for you to have coveted, as you do, your neighbour Prebend's house, but you should have begun at last, as Nero said, to dwell like yourself, and have been installed in a palace suitable to your dignity. But though those happy dayes are past and gone, you need not grumble; unless nothing will suffice you, and you are so ambitious of a fortune, that you cannot be content with the spirituals of Simon Magus, and the temporals of Caligula.

Hætenus, saith Grotius upon the place, *impium principem descripsit, nunc venit ad impium doctorem*; so that the field lies open (were it not against good huntmanship to course two hares at once) to run your doctoral similitude here through your *Prote Ennoia*, showing herself at so many windows; your doctrines and deceits, tending *ut homines ad flagitia impelleres aut in flagitiis detineres*; your attempting to fly with the assistance of two other spirits. But I will let all these things rest till another occasion shall offer; nor am I at present in humour to be too severe upon you. Only pray let me show you, Mr. Bayes, with how much reason you have recommended to the publick the civil magistrate Caligula, seeing you do so particularly resemble him. Who that shall but cast his eye upon you in your writings, can take any other representation of you, than that you have not only usurped the winged bonnet from Mercury, the

Y y 2

thyrses

thyrses and ivy from Bacchus, the bow and arrows and the graces from Apollo, the lion from Hercules, the sword, buckler, and head-piece from Mars; but that you have even stolen the Cerberus from Pluto, and the snakes and torches from the Furies? And though I will not strain it so high as that “you exalt yourself above all that is called “God in the temple,” yet it is notorious that you pretend to more worship than belongs you in the cathedral. Nor does it look otherwise when men see you crowd yourself in between the Dean and the senior Prebend, than like Caligula’s taking the middle between Castor and Pollux. ’Tis the same imperial spirit that makes you jostle so for place, that out of your seeking for pre-eminence, you have almost made a schism in the church of Canterbury: and it concerns Christian princes to take care how you rise higher, lest the ancient ecclesiastical controversies be revived, to the “disturbance of the publick tranquillity, and the ends of “government.” Then as Caligula had his images in the synagogues, so have you your curates at Ickham and Chart-ham, for they “having no power,” you know, “are no “better than statues and images of authority *.” But Mr. Lee of Ickham, in particular, is so like you, that if both your heads were cut off and *transprosed* on each other’s shoulders, no man living but would take you one for the other. But to omit these, I shall, as in the case of Don Sebastian,

* Eccl. Pol. p. 120.

Sebastian, shew by some more private marks of your body and mind, that though you might have imposed upon the Parthians for a Pseudo-Nero, it is impossible you should be a Perkin Caligula, but the very original. First, he had a singular quality for which he admired himself, and gave it a peculiar name of *adiatrepsia*, which was his unmoved constancy in assisting at, and looking upon the most horrid executions: and no less is your unrelenting and undaunted resolution in first condemning the Nonconformists to “the galleys, the pillories, the whipping-posts, the publick rods and axes,” and afterwards beholding the execution with an extraordinary sedateness and judicial temper of spirit. He had beside this a peculiar antipathy, which was the reason that it was made an hainous and capital offence in his reign to name but a goat upon whatsoever occasion. And the same aversion have you, if not to a greater height; infomuch that, I having but mentioned a goat in my former book, and under the disguised names too of *crabe* and *cabre*, you do as good as accuse me of animating therefore the subjects to rebellion *. He was moreover, as I told you, ingaged in a great intrigue of courtship with the Moon, like that of your camarade Bayes: “Where shall I thy true love know, thou pretty pretty Moon? To-morrow soon, ere it be noon, on Mount Vesuvio †.” And you in like manner boast yourself to be married to a goddess:

* Reproof, p. 210.

† Rehearsal Comedy, p. 51.

goddesses: but which of them 'tis I know not, for Selene was adored under the figure of Minerva: but 'tis most probably Luna, for you courted her in the language of Bayes his Eclipse, but something more smutty, as I could rehearse to you from a good hand, were it not too broad for any man's mouth but your's; and that I would not have you blame me again for "betraying publicly the mirth and "freedom of private conversation *." The last token of your Caligulism shall be the sacrifices which he appointed of pheasants and peacocks to his deity: and accordingly your friend the author of the Friendly Debate hath sacrificed a pheasant, and I have sacrificed a peacock to your divinity: and I hope it will be therefore henceforth and for ever to me propitious and favourable. Now that I have thus far represented in the persons of Caligula and Nero, what it was that you meant in your former argument, and what those impositions are which you instruct princes to practise, and their people to submit to, I shall dismiss this testimony, after I have mentioned one imposition more of Caligula's, and indeed very laudable, which if you also will submit to, I would recommend to your graver consideration. He condemned those authors, whose writings gave no satisfaction to the publick, either to blur them over with a sponge, or lick them out with their tongues; unless they rather chose to be disciplined with ferulaes, in commutation of penance,

* Reproof, p. 244.

penance, or to be ducked over head and ears in the next river: a punishment, which, were it but for your incorrigible faculty of railing and scolding, you could scarce, under so gentle a government, have avoided.

But to pass over, Mr. Bayes, from your Roman Empire, and come nearer home, the second testimony that I shall produce out of your own book of the same nature, shall be what you reply upon me concerning the Vicar of Brackley in Northamptonshire, your countryman Doctor Sibthorpe, and who commenced Doctor much after the same manner that you did. His sermon is extant in the history, and some heads and points of it I gave you in my first book as a pinne-paper of your modern orthodoxy, and the very flour of your brann (not of the church of England, as you would suggest) in the doctrine of some men in the late times concerning impositions, and I shall here sift it after your grinding. Here in the * Reproof you undertake to tell the story of that Doctor's sermon, which you needed not, for the sermon is yet extant, beside what is legible in Archbishop Abbot's Narrative: but you also adventure to justify it and Manwaring's case also, which you allow to be the same with Sibthorpe's †. But whereas you limit the matter to the indiscretion only of a single country Vicar or so, I gave you those particular relations for an example of what was then the doctrine *alamode* at

* Reproof, from p. 366, to p. 376.

† Idem, p. 371.

at that time in most of your pulpits, and which you here attempt to bring again in fashion. You defend that loan and the carrying of it on in that manner, and if there were any illegal design of absolute government promoted, you ascribe it to "the impudence of the members of parliament;" to the "assaults they then made upon the royal power by their bold and unreasonable demands;" to their "bringing things to that pass, that nothing must be done unless the King would either grant away all his power to them, or keep it all to himself;" to the "rudeness and insolence of their demands; so that the King must sometimes govern without them, or not at all." And as to those persons and members that were imprisoned for refusing the loan; you say "they had forgot the respect they ought to their prince, and the duty they ought to God;" that the "King was forced on those courses by the stubbornness of Presbyterian parliaments:" (No, Sir, it was by the flattery of Archidiaconal preachers) that as things then stood betwixt him and his parliaments, "punctilios of law were superseded; their demands were disloyal and unreasonable:" all "good and ingenuous subjects ought not to have stood then so curiously upon precedents and niceties of old custom." And in conclusion you determine *ex tripode*; that * "whatever that parliament or the refusers of the loan were by the laws of the land, they were even then most notorious

"rebels

“rebels by all the laws of the gospel.” It is worth taking notice more particularly that the parliament which you have thus qualified was the parliament 3^o *Caroli*, which I have heard by unprejudiced men to have been an assembly of the most loyal, prudent, and upright English spirits that any age could have produced. Their actions are upon record, and by them, not by your perishing and false glosses and relations, will posterity judge concerning them. And if we had no other effects and laws from them but *the petition of right*, it were sufficient to eternize their memory among all men that wear an English heart in their bosome. But it is too much for you to make their process however, and to arraign a parliament as traytors by an Ecclesiastical bill of attainder. “You dare,” you say, “determine them so.” It is indeed like your fellow Bayes his draw-can-Sir——

“You huff, you strut, look big and stare,

“And all this you can do because you dare.”

But I assure you, notwithstanding your complaint “* of ecclesiastical laws being in a manner cancelled by the opposition of civil constitutions,” it will never be well in England as long as that doctrine holds that men though loyal by the laws of the land, yet are most notorious rebels by all the laws of the gospel. Here is divinity indeed, not on God’s name I am sure, nor the king’s; whose then, you

VOL. II.

Z z.

may

* Eccl. Pol. p. 20.

may confider. “You fay indeed if Doctor Sibthorpe intermed-
 “led with the king’s absolute power of imposing taxes without
 “consent in parliament, he went beyond his own commissi-
 “on *.” But why might he not, Sir, as well as you ? where is
 your commission, unless what he might not preach, you have
 license to print, and that alters the case ? It is, it seems, no
 matter ; for Manwaring, you say, for “his zeal in the cause of
 “loyalty was punished with preferments to defie the pragma-
 “ticalness of that parliament †,” and so was Sibthorpe, and so
 you doubtless expect to be if you be not already sufficiently
 punished with preferments for the same merit. You will do
 well to register your name in some office of address, or rather
 with the clerks of both Houses ; that if any new occasion of
 preferment should start, they may not escape you, nor you
 according to your deserts be forgotten. In conclusion, these
 kind of sermons were not the least inducement of that
 petition wherein I told you Martin Parker’s ballads were
 complained of ; the very next article but one being
 against “such as preached that subjects have no propriety
 “in their estates, but that the king may take from them
 “what he pleaseth, and that all is the king’s, and he is bound
 “by no law.” In this petition, though I find fundry
 things intermixed which had better been omitted, yet it is
 no wonder, if having this just cause of complaint, their pen
 being in their hand they dashed out farther than was fitting
 against

* Reproof, p. 370.

† Idem, p. 374.

against the clergy. And now I hope I have pretty well evidenced that your book hath said what it did say, and that you meant what you said, and it was but the self same design which both of you managed together. And yet, Mr. Bayes, you think this is hard dealing, when you betwixt ranting and whining affirm this your grand thesis of the unlimited and absolute magistrate, * “to be so granted and “undoubted a truth that it is plainly ratified by the unanimous consent of all mankind. Nay” (inhumane!) “when “a man has demonstrated its certainty from that unavoidable influence that religion alwayes has upon the peace of “kingdomes †. But when beside you have drawn up a “brief and plain account of the parts, the coherence, and “the design ‡; when you have provided with equal care “and caution” too “against the inconveniencies of both extremes, unlimited power on the one hand, and unbounded “license on the other: when the bounds you have proposed are so easie to be observed; and so unnecessary to “be transgressed by all parties concerned. That governors “only take care not to impose things certainly and apparently evil ||, and that subjects be not allowed to plead “conscience for disobedience in any other case: and when “you have so carefully avoided all kind of severity more “than is absolutely necessary.” Alas! good sir, have you so, and nevertheless do they misuse you? Where is your witnesses?

Z z 2

* Reproof, p. 9. † Ibid. ‡ Idem, p. 17. || Idem, p. 18.

ness? but pray what are indeed these bounds that you have set? let us consider; though when you had made the magistrate once unlimited, I know not whether he gave you leave again to set bounds to him. But indeed they are as you say very easie. Only that he take care not to impose things certainly and apparently evil. But what things are so, you take not so much care to inform him. Oh! I have it: "He may command any thing in the worship of God " that does not tend to debauch mens practices, or their " conceptions of the Deity.*" But I was of opinion that the magistrate would think fit not only to refrain from imposing things certainly and apparently evil, but that he would even have shunned the appearance of evil: I am sure, if he won't, his subjects for their part ought both as men, and more as Christians, to follow that maxime. But therefore in such weighty cases who shall be the expositor, who the judge betwixt people and magistrate, one would have thought the Scripture should for good reason have decided a case of conscience. No: it may as to matter of obedience to the magistrate; but as to the magistrate's ecclesiastical power of commanding, it has rather supposed it, and Christ himself, being as you make him but nature's successor, thought not fit to meddle with it. Why then we must have something else, " a guardian of humane nature," (you know whence the word comes) to decide the business.

In

* Eccl. Pol. p. 66.

In conclusion (though it be unusual, yet some precedents there are in the Roman Empire) you declare yourself the magistrate and judge of all controversies, without expecting the suffrages of the prince or people. We are like to be well governed then, Mr. Bayes ; are we not, think you, all well taught and edified ? Pray tell me first whether you be a lawful prince. But that is not so much matter neither : for some usurpers, because of the tenderness of their title, have thought fit to carry with the greatest clemency and equality to the people, and to make very good and wholesome laws for the publick. What yours are, I must intreat the readers to see at least in the contents of the seventh and eighth chapters of your Ecclesiastical Politie : where you tell them strange stories, and argue at a wild rate, and, knowing they were such dunces as that they would not comprehend your reasoning, you fall out upon your poor distressed subjects, and rogue and rascal them in the most significant terms of rebels, traytors, villains, schismatics, and the most notorious hereticks, and, which you avow from the beginning of the book to have been your design, you muster up all Christian princes to *Neronize* and *Caligulize* them, unless they themselves the princes will chuse for their omission to be *Utlenspiegled* and *Sardanapalized* by you. But the bounds which you boast yourself to have so wisely and equally determined betwixt the magistrate and the people are so inconsiderable and low, that

that any man may without weights leap plum over them. If any subject do take that which is commanded to be apparently evil, he needs but, as I quoted you in my former book, consider that “if there be any sin in the command, “he that imposes it shall answer for it, not the man whose “duty it is to obey; for the commands of authority” (mark but here the gradation of his capering divinity) will warrant my obedience, my obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my action, and so secure me from sin, if not from error. And in another place, which I have since taken more notice of: “* Publick peace and tranquillity is a thing in itself so “good and necessary, that there are very few actions that it “will not render virtuous, whatever they are in themselves, “wherever they happen to be useful and instrumental to its “attainment.” Was there ever any man that writ of things of so high consequence, as to concern mens reason, honesty, and salvation, at so profligate and loose a rate! I will not be tedious, but those whole chapters are such stuff. You should have told us which actions were excused, and which were hallowed, that we might have known how to shew them respect according to their several qualities. You should have caused the magistrate to enter into good and sufficient security, and be bound in a round sum to save the subject harmless. And the penalty of the bonds should have differed, what in case he run the subject only into error,

error, and what in case of sin, and the day too should have been expressed, although it had been but the day of judgment. And in the other place; if there be so few actions that the publick peace will not render virtuous whatever they are in themselves, it had been kindly done of you, Mr. Bayes, to enumerate them, and to have gratified our curiosity with shewing us the whole process and manner of the transmutation. And no less arbitrary and conjectural is that expression concerning the magistrates power: "The same Providence
 " that intrusted princes with the government of humane
 " affairs, must of necessity have vested them with at least as
 " much power as was absolutely necessary to the nature and
 " ends of government *." You should have done well to have given us the date when Providence intrusted the several princes, and by what means it was brought about. You should have prescribed just how much power was intrusted, for if it were a depositum, it is fit that there should be a great exactness in order to account for it. But suppose Providence should have intrusted them with a little more power than were absolutely necessary, whether or no would it have been absolutely destructive? A small error in the quantity leads on to great absurdities. Neither will the same proportion agree with all politick bodies. The Turk, the Pope, the Emperour, the King of France, the King of Poland, and so on, are not all intrusted with the same power;

* Eccl. Pol. p. 40.

power ; but some of them have more and some perhaps less than is absolutely necessary. It is pity that you were not at the Admensuration, and that you like Apollo did not order the balance of government, or fill the cartridges and distribute them to each magistrate according to his Calibre. Then whereas you say that Providence must of necessity have intrusted the magistrate with at least as much power as was absolutely necessary, you ought to have considered whether, according to your usual exactness, necessity upon necessity “be not false heraldry :” and when you add to the nature and ends of government you should have expressed what those were ; for authors are very much divided about it : you say, publick peace and tranquillity. Why but some, for the attainment of that, hold it to be necessary that subjects should have no arms, others that they should have no wealth, no propriety, and a third that they should have no understanding, no learning, nor letters. You have indeed expressed yourself in another place of the same book that “there is no creature so ungovernable as “a wealthy Fanatick :” Now you that say, “princes must “have at least as much power as is necessary to the ends of “government,” should also have weighed how much wealth at least, and how much religion at least was necessary to make a man a wealthy Fanatick, that princes might have calculated better how to govern them. Whether a dram of wealth mixed with a pound of conscience, or whether a scruple

scruple of conscience infused in a thousand pounds a year do compound a wealthy Fanatick. For otherwise there may be a great error in the dose of government; and you may, even during your dull and lazy distemper, have had experience how necessary it is to be exact in the preparation and quantity, though it were but of *Callimelanos*. The word Fanatick is of a large acceptation. The Papists are Fanaticks; the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Anabaptists of New England, and I know not how many more are Fanaticks. The parliament 3^o *Caroli*, that drew up the petition of right, and others that you mention, excluding that of forty, were Presbyterian, Fanatical, puritanical, and rebellious parliaments. Who knows at this rate where Fanaticism will end, and whether, according to your notion, every man who has an estate, or who asserts propriety, may not in a short time be deemed a Fanatick; nay, whether you yourself, that were formerly a Fanatick in point of religion, may not now you are grown so wealthy, upon that account at least, turn Presbyterian? Moreover in your *censure* too of *Platonick philosophy*, when you first made courtship to Ecclesiastical Politie, but the intrigue was not so avowed and publick, you have said; “governours must keep their subjects from sinking into too much ignorance or rising to too much knowledge in matters of—” (I wonder what this—should mean: it is not sure “of those designs that aspire to serve your dearest——)

“ for the former renders them salvage, which is apparently
 “ destructive to government ; the latter makes them proud,
 “ conceited, and zealous, that breeds contempt of gover-
 “ nours, and sets them upon headless plots and designs of
 “ reformation, that usually proceed to rebellion, &c.” I
 see now that it is to be supplied, “ or rising to too much
 “ knowledge in matters of”——religion. You that do, as
 if it were in Rogation Week, perambulate the bounds of
 government; and leave them “ so easie to be understood,
 “ and so unnecessary to be transgressed,” why would you
 here have concealed them, or was it that in this manner you
 drew a line betwixt the prince and the subject, to serve ever
 after for their boundary? Will you believe me? seeing you had
 blamed me for saying that “ you have extended the prince’s
 “ power to impotency, as a streight line continued grows a
 “ circle ;” when I saw this streight line of yours, I took
 my compasses, and divaricating them for experiment, I drew
 the circular line all along thorow it, that you could not see
 what was become of it, and without the least offence to the
 figure upon either account. But here again, Mr. Bayes, or
 to use a Chaucer’s word for change, Mr. Limitour, you are
 much out, and too indefinite. You should, if you would
 have said any thing to the purpose, have read a lecture here
 to princes upon the centers of knowledge and ignorance,
 and how and when they gravitate and levitate. But as you
 failed in the matter of wealth and fanaticisme, and you did
 not

not instruct them how to know when their subjects were fat or lean enough, when they were honest or dishonest enough; so you have here disappointed governours extremely, who would have been glad to have behaved themselves well, and to have ruled with good reputation, that they are at an absolute loss to know how to diet their subjects, and to distinguish when their people are fools enough, and when wise enough, or how much ignorance would suffice a reasonable man. But however, upon this survey, if the rule hold good that an indefinite is equipollent to an universal, I collect from these two passages of yours last quoted, that you are pretty well satisfied that Providence having of necessity intrusted princes with at least as much power as is absolutely necessary to the nature and ends of government, they ought for peace and tranquillities sake (for 'tis *must* too in this out of your *Platonic philosophy*, to keep their subjects from arms, from letters, and from propriety. For as you said formerly "there are few actions" (whether of the governour or of the people) "which that nobler end of publick tranquillity will not render virtuous, whatsoever the actions be in their own nature." How others will judge of it, I know not, or how far princes will think that expedient which you affirm necessary: but certainly if this course were once effectually taken, the whole year would consist of halcyon holidayes, and the whole world, free from storms and tempests, would be lulled and dandled into a brumal quiet.

Neither are you more distinct in the matter of necessity, wherein, it being the original from which you first derive all this absolute and unlimited government, it behoved you, if ever, to have *shown your heraldry*. For though necessity be a very honourable name of good extraction and alliance, yet there are several families of the necessities, as in yours of Bayes; and though some of 'em are patrician, yet others are plebeian. There is first of all a necessity that some have talked of, and which I mentioned to you in my former book, that was pre-eternal to all things, and exercised dominion not only over all humane things, but over Jupiter himself and the rest of the Deities, and drove the great iron nail thorough the axletree of nature. I have some suspicion that you would have men understand it of yourself, and that you are that necessity. For what can you be less or other, who have given an absolute and unlimited power to princes, who have made nature pre-existent to our Saviour, and pre-eminent, and have therefore forced him to subscribe to its dictates, and confirm its grants, though to his own derogation and prejudice, who have obliged Providence to dispense power to the magistrate according to your good pleasure, and herein have claimed to yourself that universal dictatorship of necessity over God and man, though it were but *clavi figendi causa*, and to strike thorow all government, humane and divine, with the great hammer? There is another, which may be named the necessity of the neck, or

Caligula's

Caligula's necessity, before spoke of; that is, that the whole body of the people should have but one neck. Do you mean this? for it is very useful and virtuous toward the attainment of "publick tranquillity and the ends of government." A third is the necessity of the calf, which in this case would be very considerable to the magistrate. For the calves of the legs being placed behind, where they are altogether un-
 useful, it were necessary in some mens opinions to place the calf rather before for defense, lest men should break their shins by making more haste than good speed. You may then reckon necessity of state; to which in former times it was usual to oppose impossibility: and of kin to these is necessity that has no law, and that necessity where the King loses his right; that is, when nothing is to be had. And lastly, there is one sort of men, for whose sake there is a common maxime established, that there is an absolute necessity they should have good memories. I have thus far gratified your indefiniteness by this enumeration, that you may henceforward pick and chuse a necessity as you shall see occasion. And in the mean time, that I may furnish you with a christen-name as well as a fir-name, and set you up for an author, you may please henceforward to write yourself Mr. Necessity Bayes. But though the necessity you speak of does more or less partake of all or most of those I have mentioned, it seems to me rather reducible to that of the calf. That is to say, you do hereby seem to imagine, that
 Providence

Providence should have contrived all things according to the utmost perfection, or that which you conceive would have been most to your purpose. Whereas in the shape of man's body, and in the frame of the world, there are many things indeed liable to objection, and which might have been better if we should give ear to proud and curious spirits. But we must nevertheless be content with such bodies, and to inhabit such an earth as it has pleased God to allot us. And so also in the government of the world, it were desirable that men might live in perpetual peace, in a state of good nature, without law or magistrate, because by the universal equity and rectitude of manners they would be superfluous. And had God intended it so, it would so have succeeded, and he would have swayed and tempered the mind and affections of mankind, so that their innocence should have expressed that of the Angels, and the tranquillity of his dominion here below should have resembled that in Heaven. But alas! that state of perfection was dissolved in the first instance, and was shorter lived than anarchy, scarce of one day's continuance. And ever since the first brother sacrificed the other to revenge, because his offering was better accepted, slaughter and war has made up half the business in the world, and oftentimes upon the same quarrel, and with like success. So that as God has hitherto, instead of an eternal spring, a standing serenity, and perpetual sun-shine, subjected mankind to the dismal influence

influence of comets from above, to thunder and lightning, and tempests from the middle region, and from the lower surface, to the raging of the seas, and the tottering of earthquakes, beside all other the innumerable calamities to which humane life is exposed, he has in like manner distinguished the government of the world by the intermitting seasons of discord, war, and publick disturbance. Neither has he so ordered it only (as men endeavour to express it) by meer permission, but sometimes out of complacency. For though it may happen that both the parties may be guilty of war, as both of schisme, yet there are many cases in which war is just, and few however, where there is not more justice on one side than the other. To repell an invasion from abroad, or extinguish an usurpation at home, would not require a long consultation with conscience. The Jews themselves learnt at last that 'twas lawful to fight a battel on the sabbath-day, rather than submit their throats to the enemy : and had all sectaries been of the opinion of some Anabaptists and others, that all war is unlawful, they would have afforded matter rather of derision than disturbance. Nevertheless it is most certain, that tranquillity in government is by all just means to be sought after, and it might easily be attained and preserved, did those that most pretend to it; sincerely labour it. But men have oftentimes, as I have partly showed you in your own doctrine, other ends of government, and that to compass them, re-

quire other means than will consist with so specious a title. How should such persons arrive at their designed port, but by disturbance? for if there were a dead calm always, and the wind blew from no corner, there would be no navigation. You will object perhaps, and I stand corrected, that though there should not be a breath of air, it might be performed by galleys: and 'tis indeed the very thing proposed in your Ecclesiastical Politie, that you might be rowed in state over the ocean of publick tranquillity by the publick slavery. But because you are subject to misconstrue even true English, I will explain myself as distinctly as I can, and as close as possible, what is mine own opinion in this matter of the magistrate and government; that seeing I have blamed you where I thought you blame-worthy, you may have as fair hold of me too, if you can find where to fix your accusation.

The power of the magistrate does most certainly issue from divine authority. The obedience due to that power is by divine command; and subjects are bound, both as men and as Christians, to obey the magistrate actively in all things where their duty to God intercedes not, and however passively, that is, either by leaving their countrey, or if they cannot do that (the magistrate, or the reason of their own occasions hindering them) then by suffering patiently at home, without giving the least publick disturbance.

But

But the dispute concerning the magistrates power ought to be superfluous : for that it is certainly founded upon his commission from God, and for the most part sufficiently fortified with all humane advantages. There are few sovereign princes so abridged, but that, if they be not contented, they may envy their own fortune. But the modeſter queſtion (if men will needs be meddling with matters above them) would be how far it is adviſable for a prince to exert and push the rigour of that power which no man can deny him ; for princes, as they derive the right of ſucceſſion from their anceſtors, ſo they inherit from that ancient and illuſtrious extraction, a generoſity that runs in the blood above the allay of the reſt of mankind. And being moreover at ſo much eaſe of honour and fortune, that they are free from the gripes of avarice and twinges of ambition, they are the more diſpoſed to an univerſal benignity toward their ſubjects. What prince that ſees ſo many millions of men, either labouring induſtriouſly toward his revenue, or adventuring their lives in his ſervice, and all of them performing his commands with a religious obedience, but conceives at the ſame time a relenting tenderneſs over them, whereof others out of the narrowneſs of their minds cannot be capable ? But if this gracious temper be inconſiſtent with the nature and ends of government, it behoves them to be aware, and by the rougher methods to provide for their own and the peoples ſecurity. For though princes are not, as in ſome

barbarous parts of the world, sworn as it were upon the almanack, and violate their coronation oath, unless the seasons of the year be very punctual, yet (abating only for any extraordinary accident from heaven) they are responsible to him that gave them their commission for the happiness or infelicity of their subjects during the term of their government. It is within their power, depends upon their counsels, and they cannot fail of a prosperous reign, but by a mistaken choice betwixt rigour or moderation. But whoever shall cast his eye thorow the history of all ages, will find that nothing has alwayes succeeded better with princes than the clemency of government : and that those, on the contrary, who have taken the sanguinary course, have been unfortunate to themselves and the people, the consequences not being separable. For whether that royal and magnanimous gentleness spring from a propensity of their nature, or be acquired and confirmed by good and prudent consideration, it draws along with it all the effects of policy. The wealth of a shepherd depends upon the multitude of his flock, the goodness of their pasture, and the quietness of their feeding : and princes, whose dominion over mankind resembles in some measure that of man over other creatures, cannot expect any considerable increase to themselves, if by continual terrour they amaze, shatter, and hare their people, driving them into woods, and running them upon precipices. Nay even if this similitude were pursued
to

to the uttermost, and the absolute and unlimited power over rational beings were so desirable as some, for their own sinister ends, will always be suggesting to governors, there is not any so proper and certain way of attaining it, as by this softness of handling. If men do but compute how charming an efficacy one word, and more one good action has from a superior upon those under him, it can scarce be reckoned how powerful a magick there is in a prince who shall by a constant tenour of humanity in government go on daily gaining upon the affections of his people. There is not any privilege so dear, but it may be extorted from subjects by good usage, and by keeping them always up in their good humour. I will not say what one prince may compass within his own time, or what a second, though surely much may be done : but it is enough if a great and durable design be accomplished in the third life, and supposing an hereditary succession of any three taking up still where the other left, and dealing still in that fair and tender way of management, it is impossible but that, even without reach or intention upon the princes part, all should fall into his hand, and in so short a time the very memory or thoughts of any such thing as publick liberty would, as it were by consent, expire and be for ever extinguished. So that, whatever the power of the magistrate be in the institution, it is much safer for them not to do that with the left hand which they may do with the right, nor by an extraordinary, what they may effect by the ordinary,

way of government. A prince that goes to the top of his power is like him that shall go to the bottom of his treasure. And therefore it is very unadvisable however to put a great stress upon little things, and where the obedience will not countervail the experiment. It is like a man that knits all his force to throw an inconsiderable weight: he both strains his arm with it, falls short and makes no impression; whereas he that chuses a just weight, does neither find himself the weaker after he has delivered it, and reaches the length he aimed at. And this I doubt has been the case in laying on so much load upon account of things at best only indifferent and ceremonious. But as it is the wisdom and virtue of a prince to rule in this manner, so he hath that advantage that his safety herein is fortified by his duty, and as being a Christian magistrate, he has the stronger obligation upon him to govern his subjects in this Christian manner. Even during the law under the Mosaical dispensation, in that regal chapter of the 17th of Deuteronomy, it is solemnly commanded that when the king sits upon the throne of his kingdom, he shall write him a copy of the law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites, and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of the law, and these statutes to do them: that his heart be not lifted up over his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment

commandment to the right hand or to the left, to the end he may prolong his dayes in the kingdom, he and his children. And though our Saviour came to abrogate the ceremonial part of the law, yet this was so essential to the magistrates duty, that he confirmed and established it stronger by his doctrine. He declares indeed, that those Christians are blessed who are persecuted for righteousness sake, and when men shall revile, persecute and say all manner of evil against them : but it does not therefore follow that the magistrate by fulfilling that prediction does gain any of the beatitudes. Rather he is invited to the contrary course, for as much as the merciful are blessed, for they shall obtain mercy, and blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth. And so, in Rom. xiii. where the duty of the subject is so fully and excellently described, it is nevertheless as to the magistrate said that he is not, which is to say, he ought not to be a terrour to good works, but to the evil. Neither is it fair for any man to speak as though our Saviour had in a manner balked the whole business of the magistrates duty intermixed with his jurisdiction. For whatsoever Christ did generally dictate, unless where he speaks to men under the express capacity and notion of subjects, is equally bound upon the magistrate as well as the people. And where he denounces woe to them that shall offend one of his little ones that believe in him, and who so doth it, that it were better for him that a millstone were

were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the sea, it is said without reservation either to prince or subject. Neither where the Apostle Paul speaks of the tribulation which God recompences to the troublers of Christianity, is there any exempt jurisdiction to be pleaded. The power of princes is not improperly resembled and derived down by paternal authority, and that which a master hath in his family: and in Ephesians vi. where the rules are given of domestick obedience, yet both parents are forbid too from provoking their children to wrath, and masters that they do not threaten their servants. Indeed although Christ did not assume an earthly and visible kingdom, yet he by the gospel gave law to princes and subjects, obliging all mankind to such a peaceable and gentle frame of spirit as would be the greatest and most lasting security to government, rendring the people tractable to superiors, and the magistrate not grievous in the exercise of his dominion. And he knew very well that without dethroning the princes of the world at present, yet by the constant preaching of that benevolous and amiable doctrine, by the assimilating and charitable love of the first Christians, and by their signal patience under all their sufferings and torments, all opposition would be worn out, and all princes should make place for a Christian Empire. Neither therefore did he or the Apostles, or the primitive Christians that trode on in their steps, notwithstanding their obedience to the ma-

gistrate, intermit the declaring and propagating the whole Christian doctrine, in the doing of which, if I can express it so with decency, they did an act of the most direct and highest contumacy and disobedience to those that then governed. And so it did and always will happen, that whereas Christianity is indeed most certainly the greatest friend to government, and takes the greatest care, makes the best provision of any doctrine whatsoever for the preserving of its authority; yet where the magistrate does clash with the rules and ends of Christianity, he does of consequence subvert his own power, and undermine his own foundation; not by any malignity that there is in the religion, but by a distinct efficacy that it has in maintaining itself thorow all opposition. But when once Christianity had in this regular and direct way obtained the sovereignty, ecclesiastical persons in whose keeping the counterparts of Christian doctrine, and example are most properly deposited, began exceedingly to degenerate. For the former sincerity and devotion of the teachers, joined with their abstinence from riches or secular honours and employments, had, as it will do always, rendered them in the opinion of others worthy of that which they most contemned and avoided, and by how much they fled they were the more followed by a devout liberality: and good reason it was that as the people did partake of their spirituals, so should they too of the peoples temporals: neither could any plenty

then.

then seem envious; when the donors saw them to be so good stewards of what they gave them, converting little to their own profit, but dispensing the most part to pious and charitable uses. But in those dayes *venenum*, as it was said, *infusum est Ecclesiæ*, and Religion having brought forth Riches, the daughter devoured the mother. Not that I think any reward can be too great for one that is faithful in the discharge of so sacred an office, but those that can go upright under the load of wealth, make up the lesser number of mankind, and for the most part they that seek it more earnestly do the worse deserve it. Too many of that order did then begin to sleight their own function, although of all others the most eligible and worthy: consisting in the sweetness of a contemplative life, the inestimable care of mens souls, a freedom from the common occasions of vice, and from the mechanical drudgery of raking together a fortune. That which was an office before, was now turned into a benefice, and one would not suffice the appetite; but they introduced the polygamy of pluralities. Non-residence was so legal, that it was almost grown to a science, and a man might have compiled a systeme of its several terms of art and distinctions. They followed the courts of princes, and intangled themselves in secular affairs, beyond what is lawful or convenient to the sanctity of their vocation : and from that unnatural copulation of ecclesiastical and temporal together, have those monsters of practice

tice and opinion been begotten, with which the world has been ever since infested ; they incumbred Christianity (that is the most short and plain religion) with an innumerable rabble of rites and ceremonies : neglecting the sincere and solid for a Mosaical rubbish, that tends nothing to edification, and which our Saviour had swept out of his temple. They affected preeminence, and ruled their flock by constraint, lording it over God's inheritance. They rent the universal church in pieces, sometimes about the observation of a festival, otherwhiles about their scuffles for precedence. By degrees they bearded princes themselves, and challenged so exempt a jurisdiction, that it was resolved even the concubines of priests were not within the cognizance of the civil magistrate. In conclusion, they let the reins loose to their own covetousness, ambition, pride, ignorance, formality, and contentions : and could never take up again. Insomuch that well nigh ever since it has been more than half the business of princes to regulate the brabbles and quarrels that have been unnecessarily sowed by some of the clergy ; and they have brought the world to that pass that indeed it cannot longer subsist than kings shall have and exercise an ecclesiastical supremacy as far as it can be stretched. And when the best function was by these means the worst corrupted, so far have they been from returning to the good and ancient wayes of Christianity, that all their endeavours have bent to the establishing of their

iniquity by laws, and propagating it by the most indirect methods of humane policy. They have strove constantly to make all reformation, not only ridiculous but impossible, and to draw princes into their confederacy. Unto which end although they had accumulated the wealth of most kingdoms into their own coffers, and grasped at all jurisdiction, as oft as there was any fear of a reformation, they have been very liberal again of power and treasure to dispose and inable the magistrate to war and violence. There have never been wanting among them such as would set the magistrate upon the pinnacle of the temple, and showing him all the power, wealth, and glory of the kingdoms of the earth, have proffered the prince all, so he would be tempted to fall down and worship them. So that the ecclesiastical wisdom has resembled that after the deluge, which having once washed the world clean from that filth of luxury and impiety that it had in so long a time been contracting, men thought it wonderful politick, instead of trusting to God's promise, and following righteousness the only security against God's judgments, to erect an impregnable Babel of power, that should reach to heaven. But all such vain attempts are still by the Divine Providence turned into confusion. In the mean time nations, it is true, have by this means been run up into schismes, heresies, and rebellions, which are indeed crimes of the highest nature, and of the most pernicious consequence ; but do not in the least diminish,

nish, yea rather aggravate the guilt of those men who have alwayes designed to secure their own misdemeanors by publick oppression. For all governments and societies of men, and so the ecclesiastical, do in process of long time gather an irregularity, and wear away much of their primitive institution. And therefore the true wisdom of all ages hath been to review at fit periods those errors, defects or excesses, that have insensibly crept into the publick administration; to brush the dust of the wheels, and oyl them again, or if it be found advisable to chuse a set of new ones. And this reformation is most easily and with least disturbance to be effected by the society itself, no single men being forbidden by any magistrate to amend their own manners, and much more all societies having the liberty to bring themselves within compass. But if men themselves shall omit their duty in this matter, the only just and lawful way remains by the magistrate, who, having the greatest trust and interest in preserving the publick welfare, had need take care to redress in good season whatsoever corruptions that may indanger and infect the government. Otherwise, if the society itself shall be so far from correcting its own exorbitances, as to defend them even to the offence and invasion of the universality; and if princes shall not take the advantage of their errors to reduce them to reason; this work, being on both sides neglected, falls to the peoples share, from which God defend every good government.

For though all commotions be unlawful, yet by this means they prove unavoidable. In all things that are insensible there is nevertheless a natural force alwayes operating to expel and reject whatsoever is contrary to their subsistence. And the sensible but brutish creatures herd together as if it were in counsel against their common inconveniencies, and imboldened by their multitude, rebel even against man their lord and master. And the common people in all places partake so much of sense and nature, that, could they be imagined and contrived to be irrational, yet they would ferment and tumultuate at last for their own preservation. Yet neither do they want the use of reason, and perhaps their aggregated judgment discerns most truly the errors of government, forasmuch as they are the first to be sure that smart under them. In this only they come to be short sighted, that though they know the diseases, they understand not the remedies, and though good patients, they are ill physicians. The magistrate only is authorized, qualified, and capable to make a just and effectual reformation, and especially among the Ecclesiasticks. For in all experience, as far as I can remember, they have never been forward to save the prince that labour. If they had, there would have been no Wickliffe, no Huffle, no Luther in history. Or at least, upon so notable an emergency as the last, the church of Rome would then in the council of Trent have thought of rectifying itself in good earnest, that

it

it might have recovered its ancient character : whereas it left the same divisions much wider, and the christian people of the world to suffer, protestants under popish governors, popish under protestants, rather than let go any point of interested ambition. The instances made by the emperor, and by the king of France, with their proposals for reformation, the indeavours of sundry great and religious prelates, and among the rest the archbishop of Granada; whom I named on a former occasion, all came to nothing : and I wish our later times did not furnish us with parallels of the same nature. What I have said thus far concerning the Ecclesiasticks, I have said with great regret ; and it would be yet greater did not the imputation upon such particular persons as are culpable on these accounts set off the multitude of those that are commendable for the contrary with a fuller lustre. But as to our church, as I wish that none therein could come within this reflexion, yet truly there are not so many notorious defects in its government, that any can suspect me to have directed this discourse to those reverend persons that are the guides of it; and who, if they would but add a little more moderation to their great prudence, might quickly mend what is to be mended, to the great quiet of themselves, and edification of the people. In this one matter only of the ceremonial controversie in our church, I must confess my want of capacity, which I have reason in all other things to acknowledge ; and though
indeed

indeed our ecclesiastical governours have the law herein upon their side, it befitted them however to have seen that the dispute should have been managed even on their part with more humanity: which having been otherwise, has drawn me, as it might any man else, beyond mine own diffidence to say what I thought expedient. Even the church of Rome, which cannot be thought the most negligent of things that concern her interest, does not, that I know of, lay any great stress upon rituals and ceremonials, so men agree in doctrine: nor do I remember that they have persecuted any upon that account, but left the several churches in the privilege of their own fashion. Infomuch that in the very ritual of the mass, the most religious part of their worship, the Mosarabe ceremonies are allowed where formerly practised, in which horses and fencings are introduced after the manner of the Moores, which Antonius of Valtellina affirmed to have a great myserie and signification in them, but that thereby that mass so differed from the Roman, that no Italian would think it were a mass, should he see it celebrated. I have as much as possible disengaged my mind from all bias and partiality, to think how or what prudence men of so great piety and learning as the guides of our church could find out all along, it being now near an hundred and fifty years, to press on and continue still impositions in these matters. On the Nonconformists part it is plain that they have persisted in this dispute, because

they have, or think they have the direct authority of Scripture on their side, and to keep themselves as remote as might be from the return of that religion, from which they had reformed : whereas on the other side, in the former times rigour was heightened with rigour, and innovation multiplied by innovation, that no man can conjecture where it would have ended. But whatever design the ecclesiastical instruments managed, it is yet to me the greatest mystery in the world how the civil magistrate could be persuaded to interest himself with all the severity of his power in a matter so unnecessary, so trivial, and so pernicious to the publick quiet. For had things been left in their own state of indifferency, it is well known that the English nation is generally neither so void of understanding, civility, obedience, or devotion, but that they would long ago have voluntarily closed and fallen naturally into those reverent manners of worship which would sufficiently have expressed and suited with their religion. And when things were carried on to an extraordinary height by the rulers of the church, they suffered long, and even to extremity, which is as much as could by any magistrate be expected, unless that too were made a crime, and they must suffer for suffering. It is true, at last men proceeded beyond the bounds of Christian moderation and patience ; and there fell out those dismal effects, which, if they cannot be forgotten, ought to be always deplored, always avoided. To conclude this mat-

ter thus far, there is no command in Scripture that enjoins the Christian magistrate to lay any such impositions: and that promise, “that Kings shall be nursing-fathers to the “church,” is so far from warranting any such thing, that it rather implies the contrary; neither that they should so pamper the clergy and humour their weaknesses, as to forget that in our church the national multitude is more properly included, and that as nursing fathers they ought to be careful lest they overlay any of their children. Those therefore that ascribe an absolute and unlimited power to the magistrate, will not I hope deny them, peremptorily, to proceed within the bounds of their own discretion. And if our Saviour has reserved some cases to his own jurisdiction, as I shall treat hereafter, no prince, I hope, will think it a diminution, but that rather he is thereby discharged, and eased of that part of government wherein there would have been the most trouble, and can be the least advantage.

And that can be only in case of conscience, which is the second thing that in your pleasant and droling manner you have chose to insist upon. I have in some measure shown you, Mr. Necessity Bayes, how many absurdities you have incurred in managing the absolute and unlimited ecclesiastical power of the magistrate as well as civil. That you may the more exalt that, you continue as in your former books to revile and debase conscience, so that you may put it out
of

of countenance, and out of all good conceit with itself. “ * Most mens minds or consciences,” you have said, “ are “ weak, filly and ignorant things, acted by fond and absurd “ principles.” You say, men talk of it as of “ some distinct “ puppet within them, or as if it were a Pope in their bel- “ lies † ;” whereas ‡ “ conscience,” you say, is “ an inde- “ terminate thing, and has no more certain a signification “ than the clinking of a bell, that is, as every man fancies.” I understand, sir, what you mean ; “ as the fool thinks, so “ the conscience tink.” Commend me to you, Mr. Bayes, for a good conscience-maker. Who that were in his wits would trouble himself with a thing so inconsiderable ? And yet the mischief is, that this is that by which every man must be excused or accused. But the good again of that mischief is, that this will have no effect till the day of judgement. In the mean time I take it, I assure you, to be as serious a thing, as you would make it ridiculous ; and what I fancy by it, is humane reason guided by the Scripture in order to salvation. What you determine it to be, is to be seen more particularly in the third chapter of your ¶ Ecclesiastical Politie, and summarily in the contents : and you reproach me for representing it as if you there “ confined “ the whole duty of conscience to the inward thoughts of “ the mind and its persuasions ;” and this (to avoid tedious-

* Eccl. Pol. p. 7.

† Reproof, p. 10.

‡ Idem, p. 86.

¶ Eccl. Pol. p. 87.

ness, and that I may not return your immodest answer) I shall refer to the reader. If, as there you say, "the inward actions of the mind, and matters of meer conscience" be made terms convertible, if "mankind have a liberty of conscience as far as concerns their judgements, but not their practises;" if "the nature of Christian liberty relate to our thoughts, and not to our actions;" if "Christian liberty consist in the restauration of the mind of man to its natural liberty from the yoke of the ceremonial law;" I durst almost trust yourself, though I have no great inducement to confide in you, with the arbitration betwixt us. For if the inward actions of the mind only be the matters of meer conscience, do you not confine the whole duty of conscience to the inward thought and persuasions of the mind? Or, if a man would help you over the stile, and allow something to be conscience that is not meer conscience, do not you evacuate it again in saying, that men have a liberty of conscience as far as concerns their judgements, but not their practises? So that here is a second commitment, and you have confined conscience back again to the inward thoughts only and persuasions of the mind. Nay even, if Christian liberty consist in the restauration of the mind of man to its natural liberty from the Mosaical law, does not that too, according to your doctrine here, dispense only with our judgements, but our practice is still, or may be bound up to the observance of all the Mosaical institutions.

tions. So that if you please you may keep the lye to yourself, of which you are so liberal, or let it remain in the middle, till it be decided whorn it of right belongs to, and let him take it and make his best on't. But in this of the Jewish law you are indeed very distinct, and as dogmatical as a man would wish. For you say, that * “if the Proconsul of
 “Judæa should publish an edict that all Christians shall sub-
 “mit to circumcision out of regard to the eternal obligation
 “to the law of Moses, that were a manifest violence to the
 “freedom of the Gospel: but whatever else he may com-
 “mand, so he pretend not to any warrant of divine autho-
 “rity; whatever abuse it may be of his own power, it is no
 “abuse of Christian liberty.” So that you do not determine
 that it would be so much as an abuse of his own power, but
 you do determine, that, if he do command not only circum-
 cision, but whatsoever else, (how strangely comprehensive
 are those words!) it is no abuse of Christian liberty. But
 you are so far in love with this notion, that you say the
 † “Mosaical dispensation being cancelled by the Gospel,
 “those indifferent things that had been made necessary by
 “a divine positive command, returned to their own nature,
 “to be used or omitted only as occasion should direct.” So
 that here you plainly assert what you left disputable in the
 former passage, that the magistrate may, if he please, law-
 fully introduce and set up the Jewish religion again among

* Defence, p. 413.

† Eccl. Pol. p. 96.

Christians. 'Tis a sad case in the mean time, and truly if our Saviour's cancelling the Mosaical law do but render the same indifferent, I am afraid that his confirming of the magistrate's ecclesiastical power, that you told us of, is not much better, and had no greater validity. But I do not now wonder that you said it was in the power of the magistrate to establish what religion he took to be most advantageous: for I see you are an honest man of your word, and meant it in good earnest. He may command whatsoever he pleases. He may set up the whole Jewish religion as occasion shall direct. Whither in God's name will these ceremonies of ours lead us at last, what shall we come to? I see there is nothing divine or humane so unalterable or so sacred, no liberty that belongs to men or to Christians, that you are not ready to violate and prostitute to your own end; and you will turn any thing Jew or Heathen, and preach up others to it rather than lose a speculation, or be foyled in an argument. Whereas no man hath divested himself of any natural liberty, as he is a man, by professing himself a Christian, but one liberty operates within the other more effectually, and strengthen themselves better by that double title. Especially if your rule hold, in this case; "that our Saviour hath confirmed what he hath not reversed." For as to this particular of the Mosaical law, Christ has abrogated it for ever in perpetuity; and it must sure be a very pretty doctrine this of yours, that so the antecedent necessity be taken

taken away, the magistrate may erect it again by a subsequent. So in conclusion our Saviour has done just nothing; neither indeed could he by your argument: and the Christian subject being only at liberty in his judgement, is notwithstanding obliged in obedience to conform to the whole Jewish ceremonial, as oft as the magistrate may think it expedient. But I say, you ought to know and acknowledge that our Saviour has established Christianity to indure till his second coming; and hath in the institution of that religion condescended, though he might have exacted both, to be himself treated without ceremony, so that were supplied by reality. For Christianity has obliged men to very hard duty, and ransacks their very thoughts, not being contented with an unblameableness as to the law, nor with an external righteousness: it aims all at that which is sincere and solid, and having laid that weight upon the conscience, which will be found sufficient for any honest man to walk under, it hath not pressed and loaded men further with the burthen of ritual and ceremonial traditions and impositions. For whether indeed they be so heavy as they appear to the scrupulous, yet they are not so light, to be sure, as you would persuade men: and most creatures know when they have their just load, nor can you make them go if you add more. In conclusion, it is most certain that as our Saviour has exacted those duties which are necessary with more declarative strictness from Christians, than was under any other religion, and thereby

thereby bound the conscience to a severer scrutiny within itself over all our performances; so hath he gratified them on the other part with larger exemptions and privileges from things indifferent and unnecessary. And it is a gross abuse, whosoever strives to limit Christian liberty only from the Jewish ceremonial law, which you too will hardly grant us. But whatsoever general rules, laws and precepts are given in Scripture, and more particularly in the New Testament, to direct the magistrate in the moderation of his power in things of this nature, do make up the great charter of Christian liberty, and they may justly plead it. 'Tis true that the decision and punishment of those that shall transgress therein if they be supreme magistrates is reserved to God's tribunal, and the appeal thither, which you almost laugh at, is the most proper: but the law by which those that offend their weak brother, will then be proceeded upon, is very legible, both having been dictated by our Saviour himself and by his apostles. Yet though the supreme magistrate cannot be questioned, I am not at all doubtful but that he may punish any such transgression in his subalternals and substitutes: and if it would please God to inspire the hearts of princes to curb that sanguinary and unchristian spirit of those that for their own corrupt ends make government so uneasy to princes; so that we might once come to the experiment how happy a prince and people might be under a plain and true Christian administration, I

believe all men, and especially princes, would be so satisfied, and in love with it, that they would make it treason to give them any contrary counsel.

But the occasion of all this medly and hoch-poch that you make in matters of meer conscience, and of mixt conscience, in the liberty of Christians as to their judgment, but not to their practice, of the magistrates power to impose things by a subsequent, so he do it not by an antecedent necessity; is from your ignorance of divine and humane things, which makes you jumble them so together that you cannot distinguish of their several obligations. Or else it is your voluntary and affected perverting of your own knowledge, in the same manner as in Turkey they turn themselves so long giddy, till they can neither think nor see what is before them, and fall down in an extasie fit for inspiration. Or it is that you may thus contribute to your own maxime, and, seeing "governors must keep their people from sinking into too much ignorance, or rising to too much knowledge in matters of,——" to do your part in muffling them up to play before you at the blind-man-buff of conscience*. For whereas you quote out of the first of Peter, c. ii. v. 13, 15. "Submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, for so is the will of God, that with well-doing you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men," it appears as if you had on purpose omitted what comes.

* Defence, p. 412.

comes between in the latter end of the 13th and the whole 14th verse : “ Whether it be to the king, as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well :” and you neglect in the 16th verse, “ As free, and not using your liberty as a cloke of maliciousness,” the conclusion “ but as the servants of God :” and as *free* you print in the common character, that men may not, unless they look in the Bible, discern that it is part of the text. These are pretty little contrivances. But if this be considered in the whole, it seems to me that “ by every ordinance of man” is not meant every law of man, but the governors themselves, whether supreme or substitute. And that submission not to be intended singly concerning an active obedience : for few men will offer to say that if ordinances should be interpreted by laws, men ought so to obey *every* law ; for their duty is described “ as free,” and “ as the servants of God ;” so that whensoever those come to be contradistinguished, not man but God is to be obeyed. And therefore this Apostle, and so all the rest did actively disobey by preaching the gospel, and in particular Saint Paul perceived another kind of *necessity* than yours ; “ necessity was laid upon him to preach the gospel.” And you may find in the ixth to the Hebrews that those ordinances which you contend still to be lawful, are absolutely voided. For “ the first covenant also had ordinances of divine service, and a worldly sanctuary.” And

“ v. 10. it stood only in meats and drinks and divers washings and carnal ordinances imposed on them until the time of reformation.” And you cannot unless you shut your eyes but discern Col. ii. 14. that our “ Saviour has blotted out the hand writing of ordinances, and taken it out of the way, nailing it to his cross.” Neither in the xiii. to the Romans, does it appear to me otherwise than that therefore men ought not to contemn, contradict, resist the magistrate, who indeed is the ordinance of God according to that text and others ; but in the same place it is evident, that, as to active obedience to governours in particular cases, the matter must be decided betwixt God and every mans conscience. And I must desire you still to remember that by conscience I understand humane reason acting by the rule of Scripture, in order to obedience to God and a man’s own salvation. But you, not content to have said that the “ * magistrate hath power to make that a particular of the Divine Law which God hath not made so,” do avowedly and plainly make all humane laws that do not countenance vice, or disgrace the Deity, to be particulars of the Divine Law, and that to break any other law than such, is a sin, and that “ all laws civil as well as ecclesiastical equally oblige the conscience,” and upon pain of damnation. So that hereby whatsoever is enacted on earth is at the same time enacted in heaven. Every law carries along with it the pain of excommunication. Whatsoever

* Eccl. Pol. p. 80.

the magistrate binds on earth is bound in heaven : and he delivers every man who transgresses in cart wheels, and the number of horses in his team, or that buries not in flannel, over to Satan. There is no Christian magistrate, but, if he thought the matter went so high, he would be very tender how he made laws, and rather than multiply them to the damnation of his good subjects, he would bear with many a public inconvenience. But this desperate maxime (though what I am going to say is unavoidable, yet I do it with reverence) does impose upon God's conscience, that he must make that a sin which was not so before the magistrate commanded the duty ; it makes God to be the magistrate's minister ; and, whereas the law-giver contents himself with the penalty that the law exacts in case of failure, nevertheless at the same time he obliges God to execute damnation upon the offender. I am almost confident that the Divine Justice would never have been thus far at the magistrate's beck, but that you have told God, that " he must of necessity " grant him at least thus much power ;" and therefore I must confess there is no help for it. Will you never be ashamed of this damning and damned doctrine ? It were better that all uniformity had never been invented, than that it should be upheld by such theology. But I will not fall into a further transport, seeing some allowance is to be given you, by reason of your ancient acquaintance, and your present friendship with the Nonconformists ; which obliges you to do them all good offices, and therefore, like
that

that Italian, you would not do them an half courtesie, but contrive to kill their bodies and damn their souls with one labour. Are there not many customs that have gained the force of laws? Are there not many persons that are ignorant of several laws that are made? Are there not many laws that by disuse are grown obsolete and stand yet unrepealed? What would you in this case advise God to do with poor sinners? Will nothing serve but Hell-fire, or will you agree that there may be some gentler limbo prepared for them, where they may sweat out their guiltiness? It is impossible in such gross absurdities, but that a man should speak to the quick, though never so desirous to treat of sacred things with due reverence. But moreover whatsoever obligations may be put upon mankind, they are to be expounded by that great and fundamental law of mercy. And therefore it was that our Saviour, even in the case of a divine positive law, declared accordingly and interpreted the meaning of, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," as a general dispensation in all things that come within that respect and consideration. But to proceed further, I say, with submission still to better judgements, and especially to superiors, that I conceive the magistrate, as in Scripture described, is the ordinance of God constituting him, and the ordinance of man assenting to his dominion. For there is not now any express revelation, no inspiration of a prophet, nor unction of that nature as to the declaring of that particular person that is to govern.

Only God hath in general commanded and disposed men to be governed. And the particular person reigns according to that right, more or less respectively, which under God's providence he or his predecessors have lawfully acquired over the subject. Therefore I take the magistrate's power to be from God, only in a providential constitution; and the nature of which is very well and reverently expressed by princes themselves, "By the grace of God King of, &c." but I do not understand that God has thereby imparted and devolved to the magistrate his Divine Jurisdiction. God that sees into the thoughts of men's hearts, and to whom both prince and subjects are accountable, sees not as man sees, nor judges as he judges; but is his own measure and the first rectitude. But for the magistrate, it is surely sufficient that God has fortify'd him with a divine law that he may not be resisted: but his administration is humane, neither is it possible either for him to exact or men to pay him more than a civil obedience in those laws which he constituteth. Otherwise it were in his power not only, as some and Caligula for example, to decree that he is God, but even to be so. God surely, although it does* for the most part or ought to fall out that the same action is a sin against God, and a disobedience to the humane law, punishes the fact so far as he sees and knows in himself that it is sinful and contrary to the eternal rule of justice: but an humane law can create only an humane obligation; and unless the
breach

breach chance likewise to be against some express Divine Law, I cannot see but that the offender is guilty not to God, but onely to the magistrate, and hath expiated his offence by undergoing the penalty.

I should be very sorry to disseminate, in a matter so weighty, any error, nay even an unseasonable or dangerous truth; none being more desirous or more sensible of the necessity of publick obedience. And therefore as I have consulted none to make them conscious or culpable of what mistake I may run into, so if any shall convince me of one herein, I shall ingenuously retract it. But if this appear to be sufficient in reason for the preserving of government, 'tis probable that it will prove to be so likewise in fact, and that there is no further provision made for the magistrate. I do suppose therefore that the true stress and force of laws lyes in their aptitude and convenience for the general good of the people; and no magistrate is so wanton as to make laws meerly out of the pleasure of legislation, but out of the prospect of some utility to the publick. Few subjects are so capable as to imagine any further obligation: neither does that opinion lean towards atheism, but proceeds rather from an honourable apprehension concerning God; that he could not institute government to the prejudice of mankind, or exact obedience to laws that are destructive to society. There-
 2 fore,

fore, as long as the magistrate shall provide laws that appear useful in the experiment, the whole people will stand by him to exact obedience from the refractory, and pursue them like a common enemy. But if it fall out otherwise, that the laws are inconvenient in the practice, men are so sensible of that, and so dull in divinity, that, should the legislator persist never so much, he would danger to be left in the field very single; and should you, Mr. Necessity Bayes, inculcate your heart out, the auditory would scarce be converted. Indeed how is it possible to imagine, and to what purpose, that ever any magistrate should make laws but for a general advantage? and who again but would be glad to abrogate them when he finds them pernicious to his government? and therefore it is very usual to make at first probationary laws, and for some term of years only; that both the law-giver and the subject may see at leisure how proper they are and suitable to the effect for which they were intended. And indeed all laws however are but probationers of time; and, though meant for perpetuity, yet, when unprofitable, do as they were made by common consent, so expire by universal neglect, and without repeal grow obsolete. There is again, beside the convenience of a law, another security in the penalty. For because few laws are so perfect or convenient, but that some man will out of a vicious temper or interest transgress them; the penalties too of pecuniary mulcts, or of life, or limb, or liberty

liberty and whatsoever else are necessary, and doubtless the magistrate does therein hold the balance of justice, and weigh the punishment as near as may be, that it should be proportionable to the offence. And out of that care it is, that governors make the same fault sometimes capital, otherwhiles pecuniary, other, imprisonment, &c. but that, whatsoever it is, being once undergone, all men reckon that the magistrate and justice are satisfied. For indeed how can humane laws bind beyond the declared intention of the magistrate in them? They who obey them find therein their convenience and reward, they who break them the punishment: and upon those two wheels all government hath turned. But to make all obedience matter of salvation, is a note that I believe no tyrant ever thought of: and it would be some trouble to calculate, when a law is altered here upon earth, and the same offence shall one year be capital, and the next year perhaps thought fit to be finable, how far the judicature of Heaven takes the same measures, as it is a sin, in the damnation: or suppose the crime be pardoned here, why should not the malefactor plead it too in Heaven? or how came it that “the parliament 3^d *Caroli*, “whatsoever they were by the laws of the land, were notorious rebels by all the laws of the Gospel?” You say they are no laws unless they oblige the conscience. It is no great matter however: for if they be not laws they are at least

least halters; and the obligation of that without conscience will be sufficiently effectual. It was, you know, an order in one government that he that proposed a new law should appear with an halter about his neck in the assembly; it being thought reasonable that he should know his own neck would be concerned as well as others in the inconvenience. But for such an ecclesiastical law-giver as you, I know not what *memento* were competent; who bring in a law that whosoever shall disobey any statute, nay any bye-law, though he deserves not to be hanged, nor to be fined ten pounds, yet shall in a trice and the very same moment be damned. You should, before you thus confounded all humane and divine things together, have at least reflected upon affairs nearer your understanding, to what purpose then have all those former contests been managed, whether episcopacy were *jure divino* or *jure humano*? whether residence in a man's living were by divine or by canon law? in which last controverſie the archbishop, whom I minded you of at your *siege of Granada* determined it to be of divine obligation. But the Pope said that to declare that the non-resident should incur the deprivation of the benefice, would be a readier way and much more effectual. And that is indeed too experienced a truth that humane penalties do more powerfully affect mens obedience than divine obligations. But therefore as it is unlawful to palliate with God and enervate his laws into an humane only and politick consideration

ration ; so is it on the other side unlawful and unnecessary, to give to common and civil constitutions a divine sanction ; and it is so far from an owning of God's jurisdiction, that it is an invasion upon it. Now that I may more manifestly and further evidence, that, how horrid soever this opinion be which I object to you, yet I have not in the least aggravated your sense or words ; it may be necessary, knowing what manner of man I have to deal with, to press you and instance a little closer in that one particular of the *jejunium Cæcilianum*, or the Wednesday fast, in the 5^o Elizabethæ, to which purpose it is material that the original clause be cited. 'Tis thus, “ And because no manner of person shall mis-
 “ judge of the intent of this statute containing orders to eat
 “ fish, and forbear eating of flesh, but that the same is pro-
 “ perly intended and meant politickly, for the increase of fish-
 “ ermen and mariners, and repairing of port-towns and naviga-
 “ tion, and not for superstition to be maintained in, in choice
 “ of meats ; be it enacted, that whosoever shall by teaching,
 “ writing, or open speech notifie that any eating of fish or
 “ forbidding of flesh, mentioned in this act, is of any ne-
 “ cessity for the saving of the soul of man, or that it is the
 “ service of God, otherwise than as other politick laws are
 “ and be, then that such persons shall be punished as spread-
 “ ers of false news. This act to last for ten years, &c. *”
 Now upon consideration of what you maintain and quote

out of a late learned prelate, whom you leave nameless, that you might have the honour of it ; “ then the law is no
 “ law at all, and if it be not tyed upon the conscience, it
 “ is no sin to break it, and to keep it is no duty * : ” and adding hereunto what you say in the *Reproof*, upon this occasion ; “ I will challenge you and all your party of mankind to maintain that whatever enacts a law with this
 “ proviso, that it shall not bind in conscience, enacts no
 “ law ; whether therefore the clause were added by Cecil
 “ or by the parliament, I am not concerned ; and though
 “ you should throw in the Queen and Convocation, and all,
 “ I care not, I will declare that they were all miserably
 “ out in their divinity † : ” I say, considering this, I am very jealous that neither your late learned prelate, nor you ever read the clause, but took it up at adventure. For there is not a word of conscience in the whole clause, and if you would mount what is said to mean conscience, the clause does not however exclude it, for it runs you see thus :
 “ or that it is the service of God otherwise than as all other
 “ politick laws are and be.” Indeed at this rate you may say and make what you please. But it is plain that this clause which is a part of the act, and you call impertinent, was inserted with most exemplary and christian prudence, to avoid not only apparent manifest evil, but the very appearance of evil, and to show the persuasion of those times, though

* Eccl. Pol. p. 59.

† *Reproof*, p. 33, 34.

though it prove so contrary to yours, that the ordinances of meats and drinks were so abolished by our Saviour, that this act could not concern men in their salvation : and therefore too they made it but a probationer, that the subject also might have time to try the convenience or inconvenience. Therefore, Sir, I would advise you to go to your statute-book, and see whether the act be continued or repealed ; lest at any time you have incurred not only the penalty of false news, “ by teaching, writing and open speech,” but lest you have unwittingly run yourself into damnation, according to your own doctrine, by disobeying the act. But as to your “ throwing in the Queen and Convocation too, “ and that they were all wretchedly out in divinity ;” you might have considered whether Archbishop Parker were not there among them, who methinks, how light soever all the rest were, might have weighed something in your balance. This however is according to your wonted bravery ; Mr. Bayes, and, as your camarade said of the criticks, so Queen, Parliament, Convocation, when they are not of your mind, “ have no more wit in them than so many hobby-horses * :” and as, Mr. Johnson replied thereupon, “ you have said “ enough of them in conscience.” You are it seems yourself the man you mention in your *Platonick Philosophy : Celsa qui mentis ab arce Despicis errantes, humana Senacula ridens* †.

* Rehearsal Comedy, p. 8.

† Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 18.

And you look down upon these *odde* passages of humane laws, at the same time you make them divine, as very despicable *. Since you are come to be the Cardinal Deacon, you look, as you say the Cardinals of Rome express it, upon all secular affairs as the *undersbrievalties of that life*, with great *soffiego* and calmness. From what I have alledged of yours in this clause, I hope it is evident, that you do maintain not only that statute, but all others to bind under pain of damnation. What need I trouble myself in proving it out on you? 'Tis what you contend avowedly to make us believe. "God has annexed," you say, "the same penalties to disobedience to man's laws as his own †." Henceforth I pray do not criticize so severely upon Calvine, nor upbraid him with his *horrendum decretum* of divine predestination: for at this rate you will make every humane law as horrible and terrible. Take heed of hooking things up to heaven in this manner; for, though you look for some advantage from it, you may chance to raise them above your reach, and if you do not fasten and rivet them very well when you have them there, they will come down again with such a swinge, that if you stand not out of the way, they may bear you down further than you thought of. I assure you I am sore afraid, and very sorry for it, that not only you, but all your clergy of England, are in a way to be damned. For there is a law that hath all the force and validity

* Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 18.

† Eccl. Pol. p. 260.

validity that any ecclesiastical or civil constitution can carry among us, and something more to boot ; which was perhaps the reason that you said the Anabaptists were so much in the right ; that is, in the order of publick baptism in the Common Prayer Book. For the words are these, “ The
 “ priest, if they shall certify him that the child may well
 “ indure it, shall dip it in the water discreetly and warily ;
 “ but if they do certify that the child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it.” This is in a matter of no less moment than the Sacrament of initiation into Christianity : and you know very well what is nevertheless the practice, and you have in your doctrine informed us of the consequence. Therefore, in my humble opinion, it were better for you, Mr. Bayes, to speak civilly of princes, whensoever, like nursing fathers or nursing mothers, they speak tenderly of things relating to the conscience and salvation of their subjects : though indeed either it seems they must themselves learn a new divinity, or teach you better manners. And you would do well and wisely not to stretch, gold-beat, and wire-draw humane laws thus to heaven : lest they grow thereby too slender to hold, and lose in strength what they gain by extension and rarefaction. Reverend Mr. Hooker ought to have served you for a better example, who though he was willing to drive this nail as far as it would go, yet, having spent his whole eighth book in sifting the obligation of humane laws, concludes his whole Ecclesiastical Politie
 with

with these words, "Disobedience therefore unto laws
 "which are made by the magistrate, is not a thing of so
 "small account as some would make it. However too
 "rigorous it were, that the breach of every humane law
 "should be held a deadly sin. A mean there is between
 "those extremities, if so be we can find it out." You might
 have done wisely to have imitated his modesty. And no
 less pernicious is all that you say further in this matter
 which I named *publick conscience*. Forasmuch as you
 said, that, "in cases of publick concern mens wills and
 "judgements are to be directed and determined by the
 "commands and determinations of the *publick conscience*."
 She is a Lady doubtless of great quality and virtue; I should
 be glad to know her lodging, and be better acquainted with
 her: though often it happens that there is little difference
 betwixt publick and prostitute. But she being very gene-
 rous, "if there be any sin in her commands, will herself
 "answer for it," and discharge you of all danger; "she will
 "warrant your obedience, and hallow, or at least excuse
 "your action." Do what you will with her, "she will
 "secure you from sin, if not from error." She "will
 "render your actions virtuous, whatever they are in them-
 "selves." 'Tis the best woman that ever was born. And
 further, "a doubting conscience must alwayes at least as
 "much fright us from disobeying, as from obeying any
 "humane law." Ay, *private conscience* is a meer trol-

lop to her, an old beldam superannuate, and a bulbegger fit to fright children. These *at-leasts* are the very spirit and flame of casual theology. Frighted at least as much on this side, and frightened at least as much on that side. What will become at this rate of the poor simple doubter? He will be in as bad a case as you, when you were distracted betwixt your bookseller and your *comfortable importance*: or, like a horse, he may stand and starve between two equal hay-cocks; or hang in an *at-least* betwixt heaven and hell till the day of judgement. Nay, but to avoid that inconvenience, “if we would speak properly, the commands of authority perfectly determine and evacuate all doubtfulness and irresolution of conscience* :” so that now, instead of what the Apostle said, “He that doubts is damned if he eat,” the business is sheer altered, and if he doubts, he is therefore damned. And all your seventh and eighth chapters of Ecclesiastical Politie swarm with such affirmative and imperative divinity. So that you need not have astonished yourself, when you find it out after long consideration, “that my book was rather a censure than a confutation,” (yet that too others will judge of :) neither ought you to have taken it so ill, though I had only *squirted*, as you call it, at your thesis and corollaries, unless you knew that syringing had been, “if we would speak properly,” more suitable to your distemper. But to conclude this matter. Whatsoever
“villainy,”

* Eccl. Pol. p. 287

“villainy,” you say, “there is in those mens religion who distinguish betwixt grace and morality,” and how modern soever that orthodoxy, I am sure these opinions of yours are of an higher tincture : but because it is a theology of your own begetting, ’tis reason to let you to have the naming of it. But ’tis likely to prove a very wicked wretch ; and, should it grow up, as in probability at this rate, under your instruction and education, its malice would soon supply its age, and ’twill take very desperate courses : and what end it will come to, you may easily imagine. I hope, nevertheless, that this doctrine is yet an alien in our church, and therefore, if for some notorious offence it come to its twelve god-fathers, let it have, however, its priviledge, and be tryed *per medietatem conscientiae*. There is one thing more in your discussion of Christian liberty concerning the Gnosticks, whom you very frequently parallel the Nonconformists ; which, would I seek for new matter of mirth, or stir up fresh controversies, does administer me abundant occasion. But I shall defer that till your Diagnosticks be better. For I am afraid you take that as you do many things else, upon trust ; and, should you, upon further consultation with your chronologers, discern that their heresie began not till after the death of the Apostles, you would be shrewdly disappointed to find yourself guilty of the *Pseudonymos Gnosis*, in that particular. That which in my former book I called your third play, of Moral Grace, you here act over again ; but
with

with so trivial levity, that indeed I perceive I did you injury in calling it so; for I see it is but an old farse new vamped. And truly here especially, but thorow your whole Rèproof, it seems that you do not trouble yourself so much about the weight of the matter, as disquiet your mind with an emulation of wit, of which you ought to be a good husband, for you come by it very hardly. Whether I have any at all, I know not; neither, further than it is not fit for me to reject any good quality wherewith God may have indued me, do I much care: but would be glad to part with it very easily for any thing intellectual, that is solid and useful. Neither therefore do I at all complain or trouble myself, though I see you borrow or steal it before my face, and that you “turn” (with what felicity let others judge) “three parts of my own book,” as you say you could, “upon me.” Much good do you with it, I will never question you for’t. But therefore when you should have been treating here with due gravity concerning the most serious subject perhaps in all Christianity, you fall a mousing about the definition of a quibble. You need not upbraid me with that which is the best of your science; and I foresee within a few pages that I shall discover you to be much better at it than I am, and that you are (if it be a quibble it befits you) a meer word-pecker. You have, contrary to all architecture and good œconomy, made a snow-house in your upper roome, which indeed was philosophically done of you, seeing you bear

your head so high as if it were in or above the middle region, and so you thought it secure from melting. But you did not at the same time consider that your brain is so hot, that the wit is dissolved by it, and is always dripping away at the ificles of your nose. But it freezes again, I confess, as soon as it falls down ; and hence it proceeds that there is no passage in my book, deep or shallow, but with a chill and key-cold conceit you can ice it in a moment, and slide there over it without scatches. But, having done that, you shew yourself mightily offended that I have upon this subject of grace told you, that “ if it be resolved into morality, I think “ a man may almost as well make God too to be only a “ notional and moral existence.” I have told you that I foresaw every where at what you would be carping ; so I did here, and nevertheless thought fit to express it so upon good deliberation : and could you now have held your tongue, you had heard no more of it ; whereas, now I am obliged frankly to satisfy you of my severall reasons. And ’tis first upon occasion of your *Tentamina Physico-Theologica* before mentioned, which you dedicated to my Lord Archbishop ; it being your first address to Ecclesiastical Fortune, and an essay by writing against Atheisme, to gain authority to whatsoever doctrine you should afterwards disseminate. I should not say what follows, did I think I could thereby offend my Lord Archbishop, who having the oversight of this whole church upon him ; does, of course, and conscientiously,

entiously, doubtless, transmit such applicatory discourses to his chaplains. So I suppose you bespoke Doctor Grigg to make a favourable report in your behalf, and give you, as he did, a cast of his office in the license. I must deduce the thing to make it clear to you. As soon as I opened the book at the title, and saw the author's name, if you be the same person, I met with *typis* A. M. but we two not being then acquainted, surely you could not prophesie that I should be the man that should print you in so legible a character in a first, and now this second edition. Next after that *venales*; which I could not reconcile either in gender or number, but concerning you and your book; that hence-forwards you were both alike venal; you indeed, as in an auction to be sold by inch of candle. Where? *apud* Jo. Sherley. Ay, there it was where you and your book both lodged at one anothers expence. For whatever others are, you were then a meer *shop divine* *, and did so nibble all his library, and dirty them with your thumbs, that the poor man had not one new book left, but was fain to sell them all at second hand. But where was his shop? *Ad insigne pelicani*. A very emblematical sign, where you digged and picked your very heart blood and brains out to nourish your young *tentamina*. Where was this? *In parva Britannia*. You should have done well to have printed us the map of it; for I find it not in your Heylin, who

* Reproof, p. 21.

missed you on the South-side of the Lake Lemman. But, wherever you live, you will take a course to make it *little Britaine*. This is not all : *et apud* Sam. Thompson, to direct men further ; and you were to be had at as many places as Buckworks lozenges. *In cœmeterio Divi Pauli* : bury him out of the way 'tis no matter : but, *ad insigne capitis episcopi*, at the sign of the Bishops-head, there you are sure to be heard of. And, to convince men that this was not all pure chance, but there was something of design and wit in't, turne but over the leaf and you meet full bob, *Reverendissimo in Christo patri & domino, domino Gilberto, providentia divina archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ primati & metropolitano ; & augustissimo principi, Carolo secundo, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ regi, a secretioribus consiliis*. So here you *apud* Jo. Sherley in *parva Britannia*, and my Lord Archbishop, *totius Angliæ Primas*, and *Carolus secundus Magnæ Britanniæ rex*, are brought to an interview, and to set up a triumvirate together. But I was at first surprized by your marshalling and commaes, not being able readily to distinguish whether it were not dedicated also to the king, and which of the two was the others privy counsellor. Well, to proceed ; *nullus dubito quin mineris pedibus tuis provolvi recentem quendam ignotæ frontis clientulum*, and well he might, for he knew not yet the height and breadth of your forehead : had he, to remark it the better, it being so unknown, set a
brand

brand upon it, it had been some courtesie to the publick. *Et forsan obstupescis.* 'Tis an uncivil supposition, did you not since lessen it by affirming in your Hicringill: *Clerus Britannicus stupor mundi* *: "Suppose, Mr. Bayes, you may "suppose it seems what you please; I have nothing to do "with your suppose: suppose quoth a!"—but you intend to make him amends: *hominis fiduciam.* This salves it indeed a little: for truly, if any thing in the world could rebate the vigour of so acute and solid a judgment, it must have stounded him to reflect upon your confidence, then in that address, but much more in your latter writings. But *qui fœlicius litaturas sperarem studiorum primitias quam si in summi pontificis dextram libandas submitterem?* Pretty well. *Tum quod animæ germinantis impetum reprefferint quorum potius intererat tenella conaminum germina radiis maturantibus inspirasse.* The inspiring with beams is a new invention. But, sweet germinating soul! what was it did be-tide thee? was it changed in the cradle? Alas for't. You were whimpering I doubt already, as you did afterwards to Doctor Bathurst, about "the chains and fetters of an unhappy" (yet civil) "education." *Si vero jubare vestro afflentur:* do you mean sun-burning or blasting? *fiet forte* (suppose again though it were *quod non est supponendum*) *ut indies mature-scant, dum tandem studia nostra ad meliorem frugem pervenerint.* You found Ecclesiastical Politics, Defences, Pre-faces,

faces, Reproofs even now stirring within you, *ut plerumque solent adolescentium partus minus vigoris & maturitatis adipisci*. Do you mean it literally? You do to be sure where you speak in the next line of enjoying *felici genio & sorte*, which was all you cared for, and which you promised yourself *tanti syderis aspectu*: take heed you become not *syderatus*, for that is worse than a Fanatick. *Sibi postulat immensa Numinis majestas sacratissimos & prorsus augustos Mæcænes*. Nay then I see you did indeed dedicate the book both to my lord archbishop and the king, and in that precedence; or otherwise you have given my lord a title which he would not have thanked you for: but the whole expression, had any one but you, Mr. Bayes, used it, is very pedantical, for though you were scraping about for a *Mæcenas*, God, to be sure, stands not in need of one, or however not of your choosing. But now your theology thickens upon us: *cum pro aris dimicaverim, cujus potius auxilia implorarem quam vestra, venerandè antistes, qui iis tanquam numen tutelare præsideas?* Here however you make my lord indeed but a *tanquam* Deity; but expect a little. *Non vide cujus tantundem interfit ut victor evadam, quantum summi pontificis: nempe si optimo Numini imperium abrogetur quid sequitur nisi protinus maximo pontifici abrogandum esse?* Really, Mr. Bayes, very closely argued, and from an efficacious topick. But here you have made my lord *summus pontifex* and *pontifex maximus*, to the great disparagement of

of

of the other old gentleman you speak of; but which is more, the pegging out of the prince, who might otherwise by your latter law have pretended a title to the place, and exercised it in person. Beside that you have curtailed *optimus maximus* from the Deity, and made him glad to go half with the Bishop, lest he should leave him nothing. But at last it comes in plain terms: *adeo res eadem sit de Numine bene mereri atque de vestra Clementia*; which I can English no otherwise but thus, inasmuch that it is the very same thing to deserve well of God as of your Grace. That afterwards is pretty concerning yourself: *hosce gigantum fraterculos non sat duxi expugnare nisi ut fabulantur superos*, &c. making that what had been but fabled of the Gods, you had atchieved in good earnest. Had my lord seen't, or had but Sir Francis Vere, he would for certain have spit in your mouth, but your last collect is something strange, praying for him; *ut sero tandem in triumphantis ecclesie gloriam & dignitatem* (that *dignitatem* comes off at last very poorly) *cooptetur*. 'Tis true, better late than never; but to pray that it may be very late before a man get to heaven, hath I confess been done in the case of a secular prince once by a heathen poet; but was not so decent a piece of chaplainship towards my Lord Archbishop. I see you writ, Mr. Bayes, here after the copy of Mr. Croxton, and others in the former times; *sanctissime pater* and *sanctitas vestra*, *Spiritus Sancti effusissime plenus*; *optimus maximusque in terris*;

quo rectior non fiat regula & quo prior est corrigenda religio.
 These were fine compliments to be bandyed among ecclesiasticks. But what was in your mind, Mr. Bayes, to write this letter, when a year after you appeal to Doctor Bathurst, “that it was he knew one of your greatest designs in this world to be one of the most unconcerned men in’t*? You did it out of the meer abstracted generosity of your heart, and writ only your letters testimonial, in this manner, on my Lord Archbishop’s behalf. For what I perceive you had by this breath only cooled your own porridge, and things were not as they should be, till upon further solicitation you began to foresee and tell your friends “that you “were exceedingly straightned in time†;” and then a little after were all cock-a-hoop, “upon the very point of your “departure to” London. “My dearest Coz. (where you before “us in the sun beams buz ‡”) From Trin. Col. Oxon, May 2. Though you are so fertil that when a man hath once begun, he can scarcely give over laughing, I have not forgotten that my occasion of quoting this your epistle, was, to shew you might take it well I expressed your notion of God so modestly; when in the very treatise where you confound atheism from *Pelion* to *Ossa*, from top to bottom, yet you would at the same time for your own ends deify a person you had never seen, and worship an unknown God. But you were so hungry at that time, that you would have adored an onion, so it had cryed “come eat me.”

Another

* Cenf. Plat. Phil. p. I. † Idem. *ibid.* 184, 242. ‡ Rehearsal Com. p. 36.

Another reason why I said to you that to resolve grace into morality was almost the same as to make God a notional and moral existence, was from a passage I met with in your *Platonick Philosophy* *. “ From all which premises we see
 “ that God’s benignity, goodness, and beneficence, consist
 “ in a gracious propensity to let forth the communication
 “ of its fulness to his creatures, which being lodged in the
 “ Divine will, does not only suppose its freedom, but is also
 “ subject to its determinations; so that though it may incline, yet it cannot either command or destroy its liberty;
 “ because if it should, it would not only interfere—” Here is indeed material intellectual puff-paste; Pinners-hall has nothing like it. This is to show how excellent you are at quoting a pea to stick upon the point of a needle. But what would, I know not what, not only interfere with? Why, “not
 “ only with God’s moral accomplishments, but it would with all
 “ be inconsistent with itself.” God’s moral accomplishments! If it were an oath I should not think it binds me: but in the mean time methinks it has something in it bordering upon blasphemy: but we laymen do not distinguish well when the clergy blaspheme and when they speak reverently. You perhaps, Mr. Bayes, intended it very well and honourably, but you had talked yourself round, and wanted a better word only; for I must confess ’twere proper enough to speak of the *moral accomplishments* of some young gentleman

* Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 164.

at the inns of court that were upon his preferment; but I do not remember to have heard it used at any time upon this occasion. I hope you see by this time that a man might at your rate of talking have made God as well only a notional and moral existence. And to make the preaching of any other doctrine ridiculous you fall into such a desperate fit of blasphemy as I never heard any man but yourself; you indeed have it often. "The Nonconformist Preachers," you say, "make a grievous noise of the Lord Christ, talk loud of getting an interest in the Lord Christ, tell fine romances of the secret amours between the believing soul and the Lord Christ, and prodigious stories of the miraculous feats of faith in the Lord Christ*." Did ever divine rattle out such profane balderdash! I cannot refrain, Sir, to tell you that you are not fit to have Christ in your mouth. You talk like a mountebanke, and seem to know so little of our Saviour as if you had never conversed but with *Salvator Winter*. Is this our great champion against atheisme; is this he that tells young gentlemen, "they are not acquainted with any histories, unless that perhaps of the follies and amours of the French court? Alas! young gentlemen, you are too rash and forward: your confidence swells above your understandings. 'Tis not for you to pretend to Atheisme. 'Tis too great a priviledge for boys and novices. 'Tis sawciness for you to be profane, and to censure religion, impudence and ill manners*."

* Reproof, p. 56.

“ners*.” It were so indeed in the presence of so great an artist. They ought to expect till you have instructed them better in’t, and set up an Academy and a publick lecture to that purpose. What distinction do you make betwixt the amours of the French court, and the secret amours betwixt the believing soul and the Lord Christ? What betwixt the feats of faith in the 11th to the Hebrews, and the chivalry of Don Belianis or Don Quixote? What between the romances of the Lord Christ, and those of the grand Cyrus or Cleopatra? None at all. Tell me truly as you are wont to conjure me, “and by the ties of ancient friendship,” was it not here that, as you told Doctor Bathurst, “the recreation you took to frame your thoughts and conceptions into words, did almost equal the ravishing delight you derive from their first births and discoveries †?” It is an uncomely thing to pass immediately from such foul expressions into any discourse of so serious a subject without some more cleanly transition; and a man had need wash himself first before he handles any place of Scripture after you have so bemired the argument. ’Tis the fifth to the Galatians where you had before expounded the fruits of the Spirit to be meer moral virtues, and the *joy* ‡, *peace* and *faith* || there spoken of to be only *peaceableness*, *cheerfulness* and *faithfulness*§, as if they had been no more than the three homiletical conversable virtues, *veritas*, *comitas* and *urbanitas*, and truly

3 H 2 you

* Pref. Eccl. Pol. from p. 22. to p. 45. † Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 3.

‡ Eccl. Pol. p. 72. || Defense, p. 327. § Reproof, p. 320.

you do so face me out in justifying this your interpretation, that I was almost ready to have yielded it up and confess myself in the wrong: Neither did I think it any thing extraordinary if you had chanced once in your life to have understood a thing rightly, or for myself to have been more than once mistaken, but you do so insult and vociferate upon it, like one of your bulky princes who had the trumpet ready to sound whensoever he hit the ball at tennis, that I have a mind to try a little further whether you were not in the error. In that of *faith* you say "that whensoever
 " other acceptations it has in Scripture, 'tis to be expounded
 " here of faithfulness in opposition to the perfidiousness of
 " the Gnosticks; *peace*, of peaceableness in opposition to the
 " contentiousness of the Gnosticks." Tis pity that you could not invent too how *joy* should mean *cheerfulness*, in opposition to the *melancholy* of the Gnosticks. And you say that
 " faith here is reckoned up as one of the fruits of the Christian faith, and therefore must be something distinct
 " from it, and therefore can be nothing but the virtue of fidelity *." Whereas it is plainly enumerated as a fruit of the Spirit of God here in the 22d verse, and 'tis strange you should be so sleepy as not have seen in the 5th verse, "For we
 " through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by
 " faith:" but you had indeed a particular reason to wink at that in this controversy. And in the 6th verse, "in Jesus
 " Christ faith only availeth which worketh by love." So that
 you

* Reproof, p. 121.

you have mis-interpreted the place only out of love to your notion, and by this pretence to enervate the grace and work of God's Spirit. For even Grotius too, who is of great reputation with all men, and ought with you to have more authority than ordinary ; does in his annotation on this text expound faith to be here *aperta professio veræ fidei*, an open profession of the true faith, & *opponitur hæresibus*. So that, if I might advise you as a friend, 'twere convenient for you to quit your comment, though being your own it must needs be dear to you ; and observe rather the Apostle's rule in the last verse of the same chapter, "let us not be desirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another." But of all that you say in this business nothing is more pleasant than where arguing this matter you say to me, "if you have credit enough to borrow a Bible in the neighbourhood, you will quickly find (if you can find the Epistle) that St. Paul is there describing the opposite effects between the flesh and the spirit ; and therefore as all the fruits of the flesh there reckoned up are immoral vices, so must all the fruits of the spirit there opposed to them be moral virtues*." It follows not. For those that speak distinguishingly of grace understand thereby an extraordinary work of God's Spirit, subduing their wills, and heightning mens performances beyond the possibility of our endeavours. But no fanatick, nor unfa-natick ever doubted but that men have pravity enough to be wicked,

* Eccl. Pol. p. 118.

wicked, without any extraordinary assistance of some other spirit. So that you argue; men have sufficient power of their own to do that which is evil, therefore they have sufficient power also of themselves by an ordinary influence to do that which is good and adequate to salvation. I deny not nevertheless that some sins are so desperate and of so high malice and contrivance, that no man could invent them out of his own ingenuity, or practice them in his own confidence, but must be strengthened thereto by supernatural auxiliaries, and then indeed the opposition you speak of betwixt immoral vices and moral virtues, or, as others, betwixt sin and grace, is more full and runs parallel. And seeing you are talking of Gnosticks (but I have lately given you a caution about them, and I cannot find in history how the Gnosticks had already made an inroad upon the Galatians) Simon Magus, that goes for one of them with you, is one that mounted above the humane pitch in his performances, and men “tell us prodigious stories of the “miraculous feats” that he did, but it was by the extraordinary assistance of two devils, one it seems not having been sufficient. But, as to the main controversy of the Nonconformists distinguishing betwixt grace and morality, you only shew therein the malice of your wit. Whereas there is none of them but acknowledges morality to be absolutely necessary, and that without it Christianity is nothing; but however that to render men capable of salvation there is a more extraordinary influence of God’s Spirit

Spirit required and promised. You in the mean time make merry with it, and as in your Reproof (to shew your skill in anatomy) you will have conscience to be seated, in the *glandula pinealis* ('twas civilly done however that you placed it not in some other *glandule*.) So in your Defence, you say, "It were an easie task for a man that understands
 " the anatomy of the brain, the structure of the spleen and
 " hypochondria," the divarications "of the nerves, their
 " twistings about the veins and arteries, and the sympathy
 " of the parts, to give as certain and mechanical an account
 " of all its fanatick freaks and phrensies, as of any vital
 " or animal function in the body. The philosophy of a
 " Fanatick being as intelligible by the laws of mechanisme,
 " as the motion of the heart and circulation of the blood,
 " and there are some treatises that give a more exact and
 " consistent hypothesis of enthusiasme than any *Des Cartes*
 " has given of the natural results of matter and motion *."
 'Tis very well said, and what was to be expected from one as you, of whose philosophy and religion the mechanisme is so visible in the *tentamina*, concerning that sophisme of nature †, and the *vehemens & effrænata venerei coitus cupiditas & exquisitissima voluptas*, though there is a maxime on the other side, *omne animal triste est post coitum, præter gallum gallinaceum, & sacellum gratis fornicantem*. But this hypothesis of yours, confounding the extraordinary in-

flux.

* Defence, p. 342.

† Tent. p. 105.

flux of God's Spirit for the power of nature, seems to arise from your being ill principled, and not well read in the doctrine of the church of England concerning original sin, which you make "not be a crime but an infelicity inflicted by God himself upon mankind, as a punishment of Adam's sin, and what is an act of his" (that was God's) "will, can be no fault of ours*." We should be all engaged to you would you carry this point thorow and make it good. And another reason of your opinion is your too high conceit of mens good works; as if, contrary to the stream of the Scripture, we could be thereby justified. For though you would make all the party of English Nonconformists answer for one passage in *Flaccus Illyricus*; *bona opera sunt perniciofa ad salutem* †, 'tis falsly imposed upon them by you; and 'twere well that you understood Flaccus himself rightly; for whosoever shall to the prejudice of our Saviour's merit, and debasing the operation of the Holy Ghost, attribute too much to his own natural vigour and performances, will be in some danger of finding his *bona opera perniciofa ad salutem*. For mine own part I have, I confess, some reason, perhaps particular to myself, to be diffident of mine own *moral accomplishments*, and therefore may be the more inclinable to think I have a necessity of some extraordinary assistance to sway the weakness of my belief, and to strengthen me in good duties. If you be stronger

* Defense, p. 198.

† Reproof, p. 74.

stronger I am glad of it ; and let every man, after he has read and considered what we have of it in the Scripture, and what even in our Common Prayer Book, take what course and opinion he thinks the safest. But this controversy is of so high a nature that it overthrows your maxime, that “all things disputable are little :” and the matter is so serious that it is not fit for you and me to treat of it in such a mixed and perfunctory stile. You have already been answered upon this subject by one, who at least rivals you in the knowledge and practice either of grace or morality. And as to your challenge to all the world, “to produce any ancient writer that has understood this matter otherwise than you have done*,” if you will but have a little patience, I am told that it will be accepted and complied with. Therefore I shall not at present oblige myself further to this dispute : and indeed, though what I could say might perhaps add not much weight or moment to the better understanding of it, yet neither on the other side do I think you a fit man to be discoursed with of such matters. For to what purpose should I make a secret of that which you make it your business to divulge and propagate among all, but especially female, companies ? Are not you the same person that say, “of all things in the world you would not make your son a preacher ?” ’Twas seasonably and timely considered. “For ’tis better being drunk twice than

* Reproof, p. 53.

“making one sermon.” Do not you “invey against the
 “drudgery of that sacred office,” to which nevertheless you
 have so many titles ; but yet you say, “you can indure it
 “pretty well, and it goes pleasantly off, when you have
 “a company of handsome young women for your auditory ?
 “but the old jades do quite disgust you, and they are mo-
 “bled up like so many judges.” Are not you he that
 think it below your dignity to step down to the private
 prayers in the family ; and that, an honest gentleman of
 your old acquaintance lodging with you in your chamber,
 you left him to his devotions, and told him you had in the
 mean while spent your time to as good purpose in reading
 of Plutarch ? Do not you jeer the women when they are
 serious, and tell them, “you are troubled with sin I war-
 “rant you : ’tis nothing but some fond scruple the minister
 “has put into your head ; let them learn of you, for you
 “yourself have not sinned this quarter of a year ?” Is it not
 you that entertain them with a leading narrative, of “a
 “certain lady that strayed up into your chamber, where
 “you drank her up to such an height till you had drunk
 “her down, and layed her upon your bed till you had re-
 “covered her ?” You told a lady of better quality, that,
 “in case popery were introduced, you would be one of the
 “first to comply with it.” What must others then do,
 think you, after your so illustrious example ? Is not this,
 think you, “very edifying doctrine for the white aprons ?”

Yet, I assure you, I would not have told you of it, but that I have very good authority for't. In the mean time therefore, if you will take my advice, do not you intermeddle further in this dispute, but make friends as soon as you can both with grace and virtue: for, how inconsiderable soever you may imagine them at present, you may at some time or other stand in need of both their assistance. You draw into this brangle too reverend Mr. Hooker, though he is unconcerned in it, and you use his name continually as a piece of enchantment only, that you understand not. For I have commission to tell you that you said in good company "Hang Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Politie; - it was a long winded book, and you never had the patience to read it, but it was no matter, you would alwayes upbraid the Nonconformists with him, for you knew the rogues had not read it neither." And truly this is your usual practice and ingenuity as to other authors.

The fourth thing, which I transiently objected to you, was your asserting that it was necessary to punish men more severely for their errors in religious persuasions, than for their immoralities and debaucheries: and upon this therefore you greedily fix, pretending to some advantage. You say, "that I have exhibited so foul a charge against you, without referring so much as to one passage of yours to make it good, and that therefore I prove nothing at all, but that

“ I have a bold face and a foul mouth ! For we all know *,”
 you say, (what we are you ? I doubt you stand single and
 no man else will vouch for you) “ that you are not un-
 “ skilful in improving the smallest and most inconsiderable
 “ advantages, that had you been furnished with any shadow
 “ of proof, you would have smothered it, &c.” Really
 I began upon this your confidence to misdoubt myself, be-
 ing very willing to believe that you had some reliques of
 honesty, especially in a matter that would be manifest and
 evident to all men that would have recourse to my former
 book. Hereupon I went to it myself. There I found :
 “ Having thus inabled the prince, dispensed with conscience;
 “ and fitted up a moral religion for that conscience, to
 “ show how much those moral virtues are to be valued, p.
 “ 53. of his Preface to the Ecclesiastical Politie, he affirms
 “ that it is absolutely necessary to the peace and happiness of
 “ kingdoms, that there be set up a more severe government
 “ over mens consciences, and religious perswasions than
 “ over their vices and immoralities : and p. 55 of the same,
 “ that princes may with less hazard give liberty to mens
 “ vices and debaucheries than their consciences †.” Then
 again I find that I have quoted you, speaking of honest and
 well meaning men, to have said, “ So easie is it for men to
 “ deserve to be punished for their consciences, that there is
 “ no nation in the world in which were government rightly
 “ understood

* Reproof, p. 66.

† Rehearsal Transposed, p. 300.

“ understood and duly managed, mistakes and abuses of
 “ religion would not supply the galleys with vastly greater
 “ numbers than villany *.” For that I cited your p. 223.
 And I immediately add, “ p. 44 of the Ecclesiastical Poli-
 “ tie he faith of all villains the well-meaning zelote is the
 “ most dangerous †.” Do I not by all this so much as re-
 fer to one passage of yours? And again, under the title of
Debauchery Tolerated, (forasmuch as you advise in that p.
 55 rather to tolerate that than conscience) I refer in my p.
 119, which is no great distance, to the very same passages.
 And it had been needless to cite any more, your book being
 full and crawling all over with such expressions. And fur-
 ther (for having been desirous you should take notice of it
 I have reminded you in several places) I find I have objected
 the same to you, “ and that you are contented the Noncon-
 “ formists should be exposed to the pillories, whipping posts,
 “ galleys, rods and axes, and moreover and above to all
 “ other punishments whatsoever, provided they be of a se-
 “ verer nature than those that are inflicted on men for their
 “ immoralities, &c. So that although a man should be
 “ guilty of all those heinous enormities, not to be named
 “ among Christians, beside all lesser peccadillos expressly
 “ against the Ten Commandments, or such other part of the
 “ divine law as shall be of the magistrates making, he shall
 “ be in a better condition, and more gently handled than a
 “ well

* Rehearsal Transposed, p. 301.

† Idem, p. 314.

“ well-meaning zealot *.” Is here again no reference, so much as to one passage, no shadow of proof? Gentle reader, what shall we do with this man, that puts us continually upon such tedious task in things so notorious? And you, Mr. Bayes, in what a miserable case are you, so distracted that you know neither what to do, nor what you do! Whereas I told you there was a maxime established for one sort of men, that ’tis necessary they should have good memories. Yet such is my fate to have to do with such a man all along and thorow; infomuch that, though I am no forward undertaker, I think I can manifest to you when you are at leisure, that in the Reproof (a book but of 528 pages) you are guilty of at least a thousand falsehoods: therefore I hope men will not be too forward to be imposed upon by you. But for myself, I am therefore so little moved with all the aspersions and ill language wherewith you have fraught your discourse, that I can only say your tongue is not made of bone †: or that, whatever other slave you be, which yourself owned, you are not (that I may suit you with a Cardinal’s phrase) a slave of your word. Whereas, next after this *tentamen* of your veracity, you tax me for saying, “ ’Tis “ demonstrable that for one war upon a fanatick or religious “ account, there have been an hundred occasioned by the “ thirst and glory of empire; and more have sprung from the “ contentiuousness and ambition of some of the clergy ‡:”

to

* Rehearsal Transprosed, p. 318, 319.

† Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 1.

‡ Reproof, p. 70.

to give no less essay of your candor, you fall on turning and wresting that, quite forgetting what follows, and was direct to the matter in hand; "but the most of all from the corruption of manners, and alwayes fatal debauchery*." But however, you say, "if this were true, 'tis lamentable impertinent; for all the wars that do concern our present debate, are rebellions and not invasions." Who told you that? But 'tis probable rebellions as well as invasions have sprung from the same turbulence. I, for my part, left it applicable either way, and therefore, if it will do you any service, you may, if you please, add rebellions too into the scale, and I will submit it to be weighed by the reader. And whereas you would confound my terms, as if it were all one, a war upon a † fanatick or religious account, and a war from the contentiousness and ambition of the clergy; I suppose few that read it, beside yourself, but will perceive that the religious or fanaticks are directly opposed there and distinguished from the predominant clergy. But as to your business of Algebra, and your computation of an hundred wars, or an hundred and one, it is, I confess, very ingenious: 'tis worth my quoting; "If an hundred have been occasioned by thirst and glory of empire, then if more, by the ambition and contentiousness of the clergy, there have been at least an hundred and one of the last ‡." As to this, be pleased to read that passage in your Ecclesiastical Politic,

* Rehearsal Transposed, p. 316. † Reproof, p. 70. ‡ Eccl. Pol. p. 216.

Politie, where you say, “ ’tis easie for one commonwealth
 “ that has gained by rebellion to produce an hundred that it
 “ has hazarded, if not utterly ruined :” if you will first
 name me an hundred commonwealths, I will join issue with
 you ; and I will drop clergy against commonwealth, till one
 of us come at the end of our reckoning. You then cite me
 for having said on occasion of your greater rigour against
 Nonconformity than Debauchery, “ that comparisons of
 “ vice are dangerous ;” which “ jumps,” you say, “ with
 “ as wise a paradox of the Stoicks, that all crimes are
 “ equal *.” This of yours is a very strong consequence,
 and if it will hold, I ask your pardon ; for I assure you I did
 not intend it so. But, however you can wring this against
 my known meaning, that of the Stoicks suits much better
 with a passage of your own formerly quoted ; “ that all laws,
 “ civil as well as ecclesiastical, equally oblige the consci-
 “ ence †.” If they equally oblige the conscience, a com-
 mon understanding would think that all crimes are equal.
 But as to the hinge of the controversie ; that is the danger
 to the publick, you affirming that, “ debauchery or immo-
 “ rality rarely proves so dangerous, as either serious or af-
 “ fected pretenses of religion ‡ :” (pity it were that serious
 pretenses should prove so.) Take but out at adventure any one
 kingdom for instance, and work your question upon it, I
 suppose you will find the contrary : but I know upon what
 5 ground

* Reproof, p. 71.

† Idem, p. 34.

‡ Idem, p. 68.

ground and reason principally you maintain this maxime. It is from your hatred and fear of reformation; wherein you tread in the very footsteps of Doctor Heylin and some others, who have deliberately applyed themselves to vilifie, and make odious the foreign, and even the English reformation, than which they could not have invented any thing more obliging to the Romish church, and meritorious. For the foreign reformation was indeed wrought out of the fire, and increased in those other countries, either by the wars and persecutions stirred up against it, or else did itself draw the sword in defence of the just civil liberties (for it seldome can happen but that tyranny in religion introduces itself by an invasion of propriety.) And therefore it was that our severall princes, and particularly King James (who was conscientious and knowing as any man in that point) have engaged both their swords and pens, both reason of state and of religion, not only their publick but their private conscience in that quarrel: and, if there must always be wars, I know no cause more justifiable, nor any design which were in prudence more fitting to be still prosecuted and continued. Divers also of our Bishops and eminentest men in our church have appeared in the justifying of the foreign reformation. For otherwise, though ours was indeed brought about something more peaceably, the church of Rome, if we should single out ourselves from other Protestants, would have found us more weak, if not more

pliable, and might urge the same, if not stronger and more efficacious arguments against us. But you may at this rate of "the danger of serious pretenses of religion," say in your usual confidence that, whosoever our princes were, and throw in King James too, and King Charles, and Parliaments, Bishops and Convocations and all, you must and will declare that they were miserably out in their divinity. And upon the same reason and apprehension it is that you would be thus severe at home, and do raise this outcry against Nonconformity in balance to Debauchery; that you may thereby quench the good inclination of my Lords the Bishops, either as to a revival of themselves, or moderation towards others; incense his Majesty against so estimable a part of his people; infuriate and inviperate the nation against peaceable Dissenters; and all to amuse men from observing, or to perswade them into the protecting of your own irregularities. Hence it is that you say, "tender consciences, instead of being complied with, *must* be restrained with more peremptory and unyielding rigour than naked and unsanctified villainy *." Hence, "if governours would consider seriously into what exorbitances peevish and untoward principles about religion naturally improve themselves, they could not but perceive it to be as much their concernment to punish them with the severest inflictions as any whatsoever principles of rebellion in the state †."

Nay,

* Eccl. Pol. p. 272.

† Idem, p. 18.

Nay, once you appeal to governours themselves (which is an extraordinary piece of civility in you) "to judge whether
 " it does not concern them with as much vigilance and severity either to prevent their rise, or suppress their growth,
 " as to punish any the foulest crimes of immorality *." 'Tis something like the story of Gondomar this, who from the example of a mother that whipped her girl beforehand, lest she should break the pitcher, argued that Sir Walter Raleigh's head should be cut off before he went to Guiana. Indeed it is the very wisdom of Herod, who, lest there should a king be born among them, massacred all the children at Bethlehem. So they must be prevented, or so suppressed. As (and more than) any of the foulest immorality, as (and more than) any principles of rebellion. So here is a law, that not to kneel at the Lord's Supper shall be more penal than murder; not to wear a surplice, more criminal than adultery; and to omit the cross in baptism, less pardonable than perjury. If this were once, as you would have it, enacted, and that the whole conventicle should forfeit their lives and estates, as in other cases of treason, do you think that " God has annexed the same penalties" too here, " to disobedience to man's laws as his own?" You have already thrown in " Queen and Convocation and all;" but, if you will maintain this maxime, you must too throw in our Saviour and Apostles and all, and " declare that they are

3 K 2

" no

“no less miserably out in their divinity.” But you imagine, doubtless, and do not a little applaud yourself for the invention; that by the doctrine of punishing Nonconformity more severely than the foulest Immorality, you have made yourself the head of a party, and a world of people will clutter henceforward to shelter themselves under the wing of your patronage. I confess it is a great and brave undertaking, and which, I believe, none ever managed before, nor will be so hardy as to take it up again for the future. Let it be ingraven on your tomb. But perhaps, nevertheless, you may fail in your account; and, though you reckon your function to be a drudgery, and do in your printed books debase, as much as you dare, the value of the Bible under the scornful name of *the English Bible*; and not only satyrize the Nonconformists sermons, but traduce all preaching, and make it seem unnecessary, that so the Liturgy might be sufficient for salvation; I believe you will find very few that will come up to you. For whether it be the laity, there are not many of them such libertines but they would be glad to learn better, and once a week to be told of their faults by an exemplary teacher. And though you brave it like a landlord, and that the “clergy are possessed by as good right of their revenues as any seculars” (only it were to be wished that benefices were hereditary) they have a rustick kind of opinion that you ought to do something for it, and that, whereas you have the tythe of their labour, they

they should have the whole of yours. This perhaps you think unreasonable : but they think too, worse, that you may well abide to give them good example ; forasmuch as you are paid for living soberly and honestly among them, whereas they must be good at their own expence. And this is, and hath been alwayes their clownish humour, that they may see something for their money : neither are any almost so debauched that they will grudge their dues to a grave, learned and pious minister ; but most think for such an one nothing is too much, and for the contrary nothing too little. This you think hard dealing here in your Re-proof* ; and yet I assure you, there it pinches. And moreover, though you would pretend never so much to be the landlord of your living, if you do not behave yourself there as you should do, I think there is a very legal way to divest you of your propriety, and there is a trust reposed in some persons to look to your manners. Neither, on the other side, are the clergy so generally depraved that they need fly to you for sanctuary : and I know many of them that conne you little thank for so scandalous a doctrine. For those of them indeed, that are among them debauched and immoral, there could not any thing more inveagling or more seasonable have been calculated. You have gained yourself immortal renown, and how they chuckle and hug themselves and you for the invention. “ It is a crime in a
“ clergyman.

* Reproof, p. 339.

“clergyman to be happy, nay, to be a man. And if he
 “will but be unkind and uncivil to himself, they will love
 “him for that if for nothing else*.” There spoke an
 Archdeacon. But you should not serve yourself in such
 occasions of so equivocal and applicable expressions, lest ill
 use should be made of them beyond your intention. Who
 can tell whether the good Doctor at York last Shrove-Tues-
 day were unkind and uncivil to himself? Your Curate of
 Ickham, when he had laid with his maid, whether was not
 he kind to himself? And even you, when you dissolved that
 precious lady in good sack at your chamber, were not you
 kind to yourself? And when you first got your *dull and*
lazy distemper, were not you unkind to yourself? Men are
 too prone to expound such passages to their own inclinations :
 and some *wag* may chance to write an history of the clergies
 kindnesses to themselves, - and their unkindnesses : therefore
 let me request you, Mr. Bayes, the next time to define how
 that word *unkind to himself*, or *uncivil to himself*, is to be
 understood properly for the future. But in good earnest,
 were it not for some that are unkind to themselves, you and
 your fellows would soon forfeit all the clergies reputation.
 But of all your freaks upon this subject of punishing Non-
 conformity beyond the foulest Immorality, there is none so
 capricious as the Declaration which you have without any
 occasion administered on my part, and, with a boldness beyond
 all

* Reproof, p. 335.

all precedent, drawn up in his Majesties name. Yet seeing you are here so obligingly courteous to me, as to promise me your license and the liberty of the press in these words, p. 67 of your Reproof, thus: "If you, or he, "or any body else, have ought to object against *it*, you "know the press is open," do your worst. I accept the favour, and seeing your Declaration, I doubt, hath not so well been taken notice of for want of the character in which such publick matters ought to be promulged, I have, in return of your civility, prevailed with my Printer to do you a cast of his office.

By the Archdeacon: A Declaration for the tolerating of
DEBAUCHERY.

BAYES R.

"WHEREAS ever since our happy Restauration, we have,
"out of our special zeal and care for the interest and secu-
"rity of the church of England, executed with all severity
"all penal laws against whatsoever sort of Nonconformists
"and Recusants; but yet finding, by the sad experience of
"twelve years, how ineffectual all forcible courses are either
"to reduce or restrain Dissenters, we think ourself obliged
"to make use of that *unhoopable power* that is naturally
"inherent in us, not granted by Christ, but belonging to us
"and our predecessors under the broad seal of nature next
"and immediately before him. By vertue whereof we have
"and claim an absolute dominion not only over the consci-
"ences.

“ ences of all our subjects, but over all the laws of God
 “ and man, so as to repeal or dispense with their obligation,
 “ as shall from time to time seem good to our royal will and
 “ pleasure. And therefore that we may obviate and pre-
 “ vent those mischiefs that are likely to befall our kingdom
 “ from the sobriety and demureness of the Nonconformists,
 “ our will and pleasure is to give a free and uncontrollable
 “ licence to all manner of vice and debauchery; and of
 “ our princely grace and favour we release to all our loving
 “ subjects the obligation of the Ten Commandments, and
 “ all laws of God, and statutes of this realm whatsoever,
 “ contrary to the contents of this our Declaration: and we
 “ require of all judges, justices, and other officers whatso-
 “ ever, that the execution of all manner of penalties, annexed
 “ to the laws aforesaid, whether by pillories, whipping-
 “ posts, gallies, rods, or axes, &c. be immediately suspended,
 “ and they are hereby suspended. From whence we hope,
 “ by the blessing of God, to give some check and allay to
 “ the insolence of fanatick spirits, and by debauching our
 “ good people out of all tenderness of conscience, to free our
 “ kingdoms from those great and grievous annoyances,
 “ wherewith they perpetually disturb our government, and
 “ at last bring back all the advantages of peace and good
 “ fellowship, both to ourself and all our loving subjects, &c.”

Given at our Archidiaconal Court, the 1st day of May, 1673.

GOD SAVE THE KING: And ——— the Inventor.

L O N D O N :

Printed for James Collins, at the King's-Arms, in Ludgate-Street, 1673.

The thing, Mr. Bayes, is very judiciously drawn up by you : only I am surprized thus to see it conclude with an *&c.* For it is true that I have heard in the former time of the *et-cætera* oath, and there was another dignitary, who like you penned declarations ; yet I never saw before an *et-cætera* declaration. But I cannot comprehend by what license from his Majesty, or upon what occasion from me, you have published so daringly this paper. For if you have any concealed criticism upon those words, *debauchery tolerated*, I explained what I meant by what I quoted out of you, and accused you no further than what those words signified and imported. And the fact stood thus : His Majesty before his happy return transmitted hither a gracious declaration concerning liberty to tender consciences, and hath ever since pursued it. You, on the contrary, declare, p. 55 before quoted, and in many passages the same, “ That “ princes may with less hazard give liberty to mens vices “ and debaucheries than to their consciences.” But a toleration or indulgence to conscience has been thought advisable. Do not you then maintain that a liberty to vice and debauchery was the more advisable of the two ? And was not this enough to charge you in the terms of *debauchery tolerated* ? But as for his Majesty, he had sufficiently manifested his judgement both of the one and the other by a declaration of indulgence to tender consciences, and by a proclamation against debauchery : so that you had little reason to raise so

malapert an allusion, and profane his name in a mock declaration, which indeed is your own and no man's else, and is not unsuitable to your principles and practise. Yet whatsoever mischief you intended by it, (for some you intend always) I am perswaded you were partly transported by the ornament that you thought it would be to your book. Nay, I do not think but you took it for a great piece of wit, so great, that for its sake and two or three speeches that you make for the parliament men, you writ the whole book; or else I had scaped both Reproof and Correction. But because I have observed how careful you are to find out, before you attempt a great jump of wit, some convenient rise, and you would not doubtless have penned so notable a declaration without some precedent, I cast about where to meet with it, and after a little searching, I found this in the *Cæsares Juliani*, where that emperor having undertaken to marshal his predecessors under the patronage of some proper Deity, when he comes to Constantine does thus satyrically represent him. "But Constantine not being able among all the Gods to find a pattern of his own life, casting his eye about saw the Goddess of Luxury near him, and straight ran to her. She hereupon receiving him delicately and embracing him, tricked him up in womans cloaths, and conducted him to the Goddess of Intemperance, finding his son returned, and making to all men this public proclamation."

" Let all men take notice, of whatsoever condition and
 " quality, whether they be adulterers, or murtherers, or
 " guilty of any other immorality, vice, or debauchery,
 " that hereby they are warranted and invited to continue
 " boldly and confidently in the same, and I declare that,
 " upon dipping themselves only in this water, they are, and
 " shall be so reputed, pure and blameless to all intents and
 " purposes. And moreover, as oft as they shall renew
 " and frequent such other vices, immoralities or debaucheries,
 " I do hereby give and grant to them and every one
 " of them respectively, that by thumping his breast, or
 " giving but himself a pat on the forehead, he shall there-
 " upon be immediately discharged, and absolved of all guilt
 " and penalty therefore incurred, any law or statute to the
 " contrary notwithstanding."

This is in the 99th page of that book, printed at Paris
 1583, to prevent any such accident for the future as that
 of the epistle to *Marcellinus*; for I am sensible of the great
 trouble I thereby gave you, though you have it recompensed
 by the great reputation you have acquired by your learned
 criticisms upon it. But, good Mr. Bayes, surely you were
 hard set, that you had no body here to go to but *Julian*
the Apostate for an invention. Or however, if you had
 contracted some acquaintance or similitude with him, you
 could not have picked out a more unhappy instance for your

imitation than this present. For, as he in this proclamation ingratefully derides Constantine, so do you traduce his Majesty by your declaration, which deserves to perish with your book: whereas he by his proclamation against debauchery hath sufficiently testified his judgement, and, as he hath resembled Constantine in his patience and industry toward composing (howsoever obstructed) the Ecclesiastical differences among us, so in his largesse and munificence to the church hath far exceeded him.

And this leads me directly to your fifth play, Mr. Bayes, of *Persecution recommended*: though I might perhaps more properly have called it a *spectacle*, and exceeding whatsoever was exhibited at any time among the Romans *, for cruelty. I had hereupon said, that, “ Julian himself, who was first a
 “ reader and held forth in the Christian churches, before he
 “ turned apostate, and then persecutor, could not have out-
 “ done you either in irony or cruelty † :” and for the truth of that I refer to your whole Ecclesiastical Politie. You return me in answer to this passage; (for in my whole book I have but this once mentioned him) “ you bring the em-
 “ perour Julian upon the stage, as a more cruel and ex-
 “ crable monster of persecution than Antichrist or the Dra-
 “ gon himself, and you throw your flaver upon him with
 “ so much scorn and rudeness that the people take him for
 “ as very a rake-shame as Bishop Bonner or Pope Hilde-
 brand

* Reproof, p. 73. † Rehearsal Transposed, p. 318.

“brand*.” You are very gentle, Mr. Bayes, and good-natured to extremity ; which makes me the more wonder at this transport, for in your whole book there are not above one or two like instances, and you have imbraced no man’s quarrel with more concernment and vehemency. There must be something extraordinary in it. Had I then known that he was so old an acquaintance of yours as I since find in your *Platonick Philosophy*, or had I imagined that he was so near of kin to you, and one of your *dearest cuzzes*, I should perhaps, according to the rules of conversation, have spoke of him with more respect, but however I am cautioned sufficiently for the future. Especially seeing he has so ample testimonial from you, “that he was a very civil person, a great virtuoso, and though somewhat heathenishly inclined, yet he had nothing of a persecuting spirit in him against Christians, as may be seen at large in Ammianus Marcel. l. 22.” And you add immediately ; “unless you will suppose, as he did, that there is no such effectual way of persecuting an established church, as by suspending all Ecclesiastical proceedings against Schismatics and Hereticks, and granting an unlimited universal toleration.” I do not suppose it, but you do ; and it is one of the greatest arguments in your Ecclesiastical Politie against toleration or indulgence. Therefore let us see what your Ammianus saith : “But when Julian observed that he

“was

446 THE REHEARSAL TRANSPOSED.

“ was now free to do what he would, he revealed his secret
 “ design, and by plain and absolute edicts commanded
 “ that the temples should be opened, sacrifices offered, and
 “ the worship of the Gods restored; and to strengthen the
 “ effect of what he had proposed to himself, he therefore
 “ called the Christian Bishops that were at odds with one
 “ another, and their divided people together into his palace,
 “ admonishing them that laying aside their intestine quar-
 “ rels, every one should boldly exercise without all distur-
 “ bance his own religion; which he therefore did that,
 “ this liberty increasing their dissensions, he might be se-
 “ cured thenceforward against the unanimating of the Chris-
 “ tian people; for he had found by experience, that no
 “ beasts were so cruel against man, as Christians for the
 “ most part are inveterate against one another *.” So it was
 then, and so you would still have it. But what have you
 yet gained by this author? Under his toleration they grew
 to a better understanding and union; under his persecution
 they cemented still closer; and so it will always probably
 succeed: whereas, in the former flourishing times, the
 church was so miserably rent by the factions and contests of
 the then Bishops: and so was Julian’s experiment, and so I
 hope will all others of that kind be frustrated. But further
 does not your Ammianus tell you of “ a most inhumane
 “ edict, and in respect to Julian’s memory fit to be buried
 “ in

* Ammianus, l. 22. p. 225.

“ in perpetual silence, that no grammarian or rhetorician
 “ should presume to teach any Christian * ?” This he twice
 mentions with the same remark. Does he not tell you that
 Apollo’s Temple at Antiochia “ being burnt down,” whether
 by chance and Asclepiades the Heathen Philosopher’s
 candle, or otherwise, “ he upon meer suspicion caused the
 “ Christians to be questioned and tormented more severely
 “ than usual, and commanded their great church at An-
 “ tioch to be shut up thenceforward †.” He saith too
 “ that Julian left behind him there a turbulent and cruel
 “ governour on purpose, affirming that he was not worthy
 “ of the place, but the people deserved to be so handled :”
 so that this author makes as much herein against your *great*
virtuoso, as could be expected from one that was no Chris-
 tian, and in Julian’s service. Let this therefore serve as a
 return to you for my 5th *ad Marcellinum*, on which you
 spend so many pages : for this is your fifth play, you know,
 and this is your *Marcellinus* : only you have made him but
 Marcel ; and have, out of a certain instinct, nibbled off the
 end of him, lest he should at any time fly in your face.
 But if upon occasion of this Marcellinus you had here too
 remembered St. Austin 18^o *de Civitate Dei*, you might have
 been better informed concerning your Julian. Or if you
 will not admit him, would you but have given as much
 credit to Gregory Nazianzen, or to Chrysostome, and
 Nectarius.

* Ammianus, l. 25. p. 316. l. 22. p. 239.

† Idem, l. 23. p. 257.

Nectarius, and all the Ecclesiastical writers of that time, as to Ammianus Marcellinus an heathen soldier, you could not sure have had so good an opinion of him. I have, upon this occasion from you, made a collection whereby to manifest that during his short reign there was by his means and under his authority as great, if not greater, ravage and cruelty exercised than in any of the former persecutions: but I will not so far gratify your ignorance or your falsehood. You perhaps, because his is not reckoned among the ten persecutions, thought there had been no more, neither in his time, nor Pope Hildebrand's, nor Bishop Bonner's, nor since. But I have truly a better esteem of your reading; and that all this comes from that good inclination you have to such matters; so that you either sneer them off at the end of your nose as old impertinent stories, to jeer out our credulity, or do openly aver a known falsehood in defence of Julian, for whom you have so great a friendship, and whose actions you approve of. But no man will think the better of your cause, for your justifying it by panegyrics of Julian the Apostate and Cardinal Granvell. The ripping up of bellies, and tearing of mens bowels, the whipping of virgins, digging out their eyes, pulling forth their teeth, cutting off hands and tongues, breaking of legs, boiling of men in caldrons, grilling them on grid-irons, roasting them on spits, fricassing them in frying-pans, were but a small part of the felicities of Julian's Empire,
“that

“ that *virtuoso*, and who had nothing of a persecuting spirit against Christians.” He was, I see, an excellent cook for your palate: and what ragousts had here been for you to have furnished the Mazarines on your table! you that can relish nothing less than pillories, whipping-posts, galleys, rods and axes! ’Tis true, nevertheless, that I find not any edict of his against Christians: for his malice solaced itself in a more subtle way, by interpreting an old statute about the violating of temples; and under colour of that he proceeded against them, and caused them either to abjure their faith, or quit their estates; and if they chose the last, he subjected them notwithstanding to death, and the most exquisite torments. Truly, Mr. Bayes, you have a very notable face, and many men I meet very like you. Caligula before; how great a resemblance was there betwixt you? And now Julian, one would almost swear you were spit out of his mouth. He set up a nickname for the Christians, to mark them out to be knocked o’th’ head: so do you give the Nonconformists the name of Fanaticks, as he them of Galileans; but the great Galilean was too hard for him. Pray, Sir, who are these Fanaticks? Most of ’em, I assure you, better men than yourself, of truer principles than you are, and more conformable to the doctrine of the church of England: only you, by the advantage of some knick-knacks, have got the ascendant over them, and left them in the lurch, so

that now you have the privilege to miscall, abuse, and triumph over them at your pleasure. And above all, the pestilence of Julian's wit and yours is incomparable, but betwixt you. There is not any more visible token of a mean spirit, than to taunt and scoff at those in affliction; and for a man by virulent jeers to exasperate and impoison the wounds of his own giving. Such words are like chaw'd bullets; and, as if it were not sufficient to shoot thorow, you invenom them with your spittle. Neither is any torment to an ingenuous mind so sensible as to be so insulted over, and for him that undertakes to be their judge to pelt them with such expressions of malice, as the condemned themselves, *in curiæ egressu*, would not have used though it were their privilege. There is a certain civility due to such as suffer, and to bruise a broken reed is inhumane. Nevertheless, such was Julian's practice, and when he seized the estates of the Christians, it was, he said, but to discharge them of this worldly pelf; that being quit of such baggage, they might march on to heaven with better expedition. When he tormented them he was not only a reader, but a preacher, and instructed them that it was their part only to be patient under affliction, for so Christ their king had commanded them. And you in like manner point out the wealthy Fanaticks to the magistrate as ungovernable creatures; mark forth an hundred *systematical-rat-pusherpin-shop-divines* for the publick vengeance; laugh at the calamities

mities of the city when in ashes ; interdict and embargo
 all traffick till the ceremonies be complied with ; and smile
 at “ some that would be thought wonderfully grave and
 “ solemn statesmen, who labour with mighty projects of
 “ trade and manufacture, while those things which you
 “ yourself allow to be perhaps of no great use to the com-
 “ monwealth, are not submitted to.” You tell a man, that
 if he “ has not a good conscience, yet he has a brazen wall ;”
 that “ there is little difference betwixt a soft head and a
 tender conscience ;” that “ weakness of conscience alwayes
 “ proceeds in some measure from want of wit ;” therefore
 that men should actively obey at all adventures, because
 “ they have the publick wisdom to warrant them, and their
 “ own folly to excuse them ;” you call the scrupulous Dis-
 senters so many *old boyes*, and would “ have them lashed out
 “ of their peevishness.” But why do I reproach you with
 these things which I am perswaded, nay, certain, that you
 take for an honour ? I oblige you by the very repetition,
 and you clap and crow at the wit and malice of your expres-
 sions. So some men find a second entertainment in the
 favoryness of their own belches. Therefore I will not fur-
 ther gratifie you herein, or nauseate the reader : your whole
 book of Ecclesiastical Politie having been writ not with a
 pen, but a stilletto, and with an intention so un-theological,
 that the writer might not unjustly be tryed upon the statute
 for stabbing. Methinks I discern now what secret impulse

directed you in your learned exercitations concerning *tintinnabulum* and *clangor*; though you knew it not, but your bell like that in Spain, which forbodes no good, tinkled of its own accord, and rung itself backward. You are indeed a meer *tintinnabulum* yourself, and, if with your leave I may transfer the expression, though “you spoke
 “with the tongues of men and angels, not having charity
 “you are become as founding bras, or a tinkling cymbal.” But whereas you are of a dimension small enough to hang in the ear of an hobby-horse, yet you raise a noise and *clangor* like the *Stentoro-phonick*; founding the trumpet of war, and ringing the *tocfain* of persecution. Inſomuch, that not content to have preſſed and muſtered up all the princes of Chriſtendom in your ſervice, you raise too the Eccleſiaſtical Militia and the Train-bands of the church in your quarrel. “When mens conſciences,” you ſay, “are ſo
 “ſqueamiſh or ſo humourſome, as that they will riſe
 “againſt the cuſtoms and injunctions of the church they
 “live in, *ſhe muſt* ſcourage them into order, and chaſtiſe
 “them, not ſo much for their fond perſwaſion as for their
 “troubleſome peeviſhneſs.” You will teach her to be a very ſhrew if ſhe will take your counſel. Was it not enough that *he muſt* and *they muſt*, but *ſhe muſt* too? Suppoſe ſhe has not a mind, and that ſhe will not ſuffer you to wear the breeches. You could have ſaid no more to her had ſhe been your *comfortable importance*. Really, if you
 be

be so masterful in the church, I doubt you will learn to play freaks at home. But if she find herself not well or not well used, I would advise her to appeal to Julian: for he made a law that women married should have liberty to divorce themselves from their husbands.

I have thus far instanced that though you are not so great a conjurer as Julian, yet it is not your fault if you have not been as severe a persecutor. I come now to your sixth and last play of *push-pin divinity*. For, as in all other things, so in this too you tread on Mr. Bayes his heels; "who, whereas every one make five acts to one, "play, what does me he, but makes five playes to one. "plot; by which means the auditors have every day a "new thing, and then upon Saturday to make a close of "all, (for he ever begins upon a Monday) he makes you up a "sixth play that sums up the whole matter to them, and all "that for fear they should have forgot it *." So do you here recapitulate all your former profaneness, with some additions, pretending to represent the Nonconformists divinity. The expressions are your own, "whether conversion be performed in an instant; or whether it be divided "into several acts and scenes. As first the work of vocation is the prologue. Secondly, this vocation infuseth "faith only say some, but faith and repentance say others. "And then, Thirdly, this faith must be acted, so that it
" seems

* Rehearsal Comedy, p. 33.

“ seems believers may have faith before they act it, i. e. they
 “ may believe before they believe. . Fourthly, by this act
 “ we apprehend Christ’s person, and by this apprehension
 “ we are united to him. Fifthly, from this union proceed
 “ the benefits first of justification, then of sanctification,
 “ &c.” These are I perceive what you call “ the scholastick
 “ nothings of faith and justification.” You understand
 nothing but the union of benefices : these other things, you
 laugh at as so many ten real differences in the same thing.
 And yet, if one would call over the muster-role of your-
 self, he should find near as many differences ; and you
 would have been sorry that any of them should be omitted ;
 Fellow of the Royal Society ; Doctor of Divinity, Chap-
 lain to my Lord-Archbishop, Parson of Ickham, Parson
 of Chartham, Prebend of Canterbury, Archdeacon of
 Canterbury, &c. Yet methinks if you be so delicate and
 scrupulous in a tautology of religion as you pretend this to
 be, you ought to be eased in this tautology of livings and
 dignities. Had you been well catechized in Bishop Usher’s
 body of divinity, or, because you will slight him as a sys-
 tematical Bishop, would you but once read Mr. Hooker’s
 life, p. 17, or his sermon of justification, p. 520. you
 might for his sake, if not for the Apostles, speak at least,
 if not think, more reverently concerning these doctrines
 or speculation. Then you go on, “ whether the word
 “ and sacrament have only a moral operation in the conver-
 “ sion

“ sion of a finner, as a man draws an horse to him by the
 “ fight of provender, or a hog after him by the ratling of
 “ beans,” and so on till you come to, “ Blessed Apostle,
 “ shouldst thou but make a visit to the Christian world, how
 “ wouldst thou stand aghast to see such a vast body of mo-
 “ dern orthodox faith framed out of thy writings, &c.
 “ How would it recover to thy memory all that gibberish
 “ in which thou wert so idely busie while thou satst at the
 “ feet of Rabbi Gamaliel?” How came Saint Paul and you so
 well acquainted? I doubt you are not in a fit pickle to
 speak with him, and if he saw what you write, it would
 recover to his memory his fighting with beasts at Ephesus.
 What do you tell him of Gamaliel? ’tis a wonder you tell
 him not too, that “ much learning has made him mad.”
 Blessed Mr. Bayes, that were brought up at the feet of
 Elizabeth Hampton, should she but make a visit to Holy-
 well, and read those scandalous volumes that you have
 written and published, she would go near, although she
 were bed-rid, to kick you; did she but see that so precious
 a young man, of her own education, should in this man-
 ner stir up persecution, trample under foot the graces of
 God’s Spirit, cry down the observation of the Lord’s day *,
 vilifie and mock the English Bible; “ as not in every par-
 “ ticular the word of God, nor in any one thing the words
 “ of the prophets, nor of Christ, nor the Apostles; as a
 “ book

* Hierome, p. 95, to p. 103.

“book in some places erroneous, in some scarce sense, and
 “of dangerous consequences, &c *.” that you should lead
 men off from searching the Scriptures, dispute against the
 work of preaching, and sum up the whole duty of man
 (which an excellent though unknown writer † of our church
 has done at another kind of rate,) in six burlesque lines of
 rhyme doggrel.

“ By the liturgy daily pray,
 “ So pray and praise God every day ;
 “ The Apostles creed believe also,
 “ Do as you would be done unto ;
 “ Receive the sacrament as well as you can ;
 “ This is the whole duty of man.”

And maintain that this catch “ is to be preferred before all
 “ the sermons that have been preached for this six and thirty
 “ years by the Nonconformists ‡.” Did she but see these
 very passages here, and how, under colour of some parti-
 cular author that does not please you, you run down and
 baffle that serious business of regeneration, justification,
 sanctification, election, vocation, adoption, which the
 Apostle Paul hath, beside others, with so much labour illu-
 strated and distinguished ; and did she but perceive that you
 have done all this and worse, only *as a horse* to gain *proven-*
der, or *like a hog*, to procure yourself *beans*, I dare say the
 good

* Hierome, p. 104 & 105, to p. 128. † Idem, p. 262, to p. 272.

‡ Reproof, p. 98.

good old woman (although she was not strait handed to her ability) would grudge all the oatmeal that you spent her in grewel, and with the skillet had boyled over.

But for “your desiring for the present, though you
 “could be very large upon this subject, that those who
 “would be further satisfied in the mysterie, would repair to
 “Pinne-makers Hall, every Tuesday about ten a clock in
 “the forenoon ;” it is not the first conventicle in your life-
 time that you have invited men to, though I suppose this
 now was only meant as a better direction to informers ; but
 in return to the wit of it, this being one of your most happy
 rencounters, you should have considered that the best part
 of your own *push-pin divinity* was fetched as far as from
 Aberford, a town in Yorkshire which subsists wholly on
 that trade, and from whence you have furnished yourself
 with pins in abundance to set up with.

Thus at last, as you mock at men for “passing through
 “so many stages of regeneration,” I have clambered as well
 as I could over these six stages of your theology. And I
 cannot but upon reflexion wonder that so good a cause as
 that of conformity could not be managed by better doctrine
 and argument. But certainly if any thing more material
 could have fallen within the circuit of humane reason, or
 could that have been fitted up with a better stile or more po-
 lished language, we could not have failed of it. For you

are it seems the last resort of theological understanding, and a man deservedly chosen out of the whole body of the clergy for this glorious enterprize. A man that, while I am writing these lines, are proclaimed, even under Doctor Tomkins his *imprimatur*, by another masquerade divine, to be *the wonder of this age* *, and so you will be of the future. Give me leave therefore, Mr. Bayes, to sit in the pit and clap my hands among the herd of your humble admirers.

I have thus far made good my former charge against you, and submitted partly to make myself the defendant out of my service to the readers, and candor towards you, but henceforward I shall take my liberty. And now, when I look over the rest of your book, it makes me very good sport to see you play more tricks than a dancing bear for the recreation of the spectators. But you were afraid you should want company, and therefore, instead of delivering bills about, or being ushered through the streets by the bearward and his musick with the usual ceremony, you have printed a preface to the reader even before my *Reproof*, “you
“ have, no other civility to request of the reader, than only to
“ desire him, that if he shall think what you have written
“ worth his perusal, to read it over with an unprejudiced
“ mind, and an ordinary attention.” Ay, pray come in, pray come in gentlemen. You shall have the rarest sport
that

* Free and impartial Enquiry, &c. P. 33.

that ever was seen. Every man for his five shillings, and welcome. Whether or no a man can think it worth his perusal before he has read it over, it had been more seasonable to advise men to an ordinary frugality, and an unprejudiced pocket. The remainder of my business here with you is only to pick up and down your flowers of the bear-garden. But how to begin with you or where to end is unsearchable: for indeed there was never such a book written, except those of your other Bayes, of which it is excellently said;

“ If it be true that monstrous births presage
 “ The following mischiefs that afflict the age,
 “ And sad disasters to the state proclaim;
 “ Playes without head or tail may do the same *.”

The empire of atoms is more in order, and chance itself has a better method. Therefore I shall be obliged to write too at adventure and sit by you, scumming off whatsoever comes uppermost, as it rises.

You had deliberately discoursed from p. 47 to p. 54 of your Ecclesiastical Politie, to which I refer, against all trade and traffick in opposition to Nonconformity; and that, while it was not rectified, “ to erect and incourage
 “ trading combinations was only to build so many nests of
 “ faction and sedition:” and you had reckoned that the Nonconformists swarmed “ most in great cities and corpo-
 3 N 2 “ rations;”

“rations;” you had instructed men how Christ “whipped
 “the tradesmen out of the temple.” Your whole book
 was an halloo to princes and all mankind to fall upon tender
 consciences with the severest rigour, and hereupon I said
 “’twas some sign of the Nonconformists peaceable temper,
 “that you were not deified*,” and well I might say so.
 But you hereupon are in a terrible pet that I have animated
 the rabble against you; but “from me you fear no other
 “weapon but a Spanish fig, or some more secret Italian dis-
 “patch.” No, no, set your heart at rest, Mr. Bayes, the very
 rabble are too judicious to meddle with you; and you need
 not apprehend or be jealous of any, unless it be the Cæcilian
 figs, or those others which were used at the first institution
 of the ceremony of *il fico*, which your obsequiousness would
 have digested, from what place soever you had sucked ’em.

There was another fear upon you, lest, having been so
 liberal to the prince in ecclesiastical matters †, the church
 should sue you for dilapidations of its power; wherein you
 have done just nothing, unless you had retracted the very
 words and things which I have justified upon you, and by
 one word of confession you might have saved yourself and
 the reader all this labour. But your proud heart would not
 come down. But “the priestly and the imperial power,”
 you now say, “are both supream in their several kinds ‡.”

5

The

* Reproof, p. 82, and p. 110.

† Idem, from p. 164 to p. 180.

‡ Idem, p. 178.

The priestly “ is in its kind supreme, universal, and uncontrollable *. Our Saviour deputed the apostolical order or “ succession of Apostles ” (in which you have some interest) “ to super-intend the affairs of the holy catholic church †.” These “ may require obedience to their constitutions, under “ pain of the divine displeasure, and the lash of the “ apostolical rod ‡.” I question it; if you will say Christ’s constitutions, you say right; but yours are *et-cetera* constitutions. “ When the exterminating sentence is passed upon “ the offenders, it smites like the sword of an angel, “ &c. It cuts a man off from all the advantages of the “ communion of saints, and of our Saviour’s incarnation : “ and that is a capital execution.” Is it so? But at the rates that our excommunications are managed, and upon consideration for what matters they are inflicted, I doubt, and by what sort of persons they are issued, that there will be every day fewer men of your opinion. And many will think, if it be but an affair of *the day of judgment*, that the Nonconformists may abide the trial. But these discourses of yours, Mr. Bayes, have been the occasion that I have read several books over, which otherwise I should never have thought of. And wondering with myself how it was possible that such a man as you should ever come to be intrusted with the keys, I met, in studying the point only as to your own particular, with some shrewd passages out of Archbishop Cranmer,

* Reproof, p. 176.

† Idem, p. 167.

‡ Idem, p. 168.

Cranmer, subscribed by his own hand. " In the admission
 " of Bishops, Parsons, Vicars, and other Priests, there are
 " divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be
 " not of necessity, but only for good order and seemly
 " fashion: for if they were committed without such
 " ceremonies, they were nevertheless truly committed.
 " There is no more promise of God, that grace is given in
 " committing the ecclesiastical office, than it is in commit-
 " ting the civil. In the Apostles time there was no appoint-
 " ing of ministers; but only the uniform consent of Christian
 " multitudes among themselves, to follow the advice of such
 " as God had most indued with the spirit of wisdom and
 " counsel. And when any were appointed or sent by the
 " Apostles or others, the people did accept them, not for any
 " supremacy, impery, or dominion, that the Apostles had
 " over them, but as good people ready to obey the advice of
 " good counsellours. The bishops and priests were at one
 " time, and were not two things, but one and the same
 " office in the beginning of Christ's religion. Princes and
 " governours may make a priest by the Scriptures, and that
 " by the authority of God committed to them, and so may
 " the people also by their election. In the New Testament,
 " he that is appointed to be a bishop or a priest, needeth no
 " consecration by Scripture; for election or appointing
 " thereto is sufficient. It is not against God's Law, but
 " contrary, they ought indeed so to do; and there be histo-
 " ries

“ries that witnesseth that some Christian princes and other
 “laymen unconsecrate have done the same. They that be
 “no priests may excommunicate also, if the law allow there-
 “unto.” This from so excellent a person, a most worthy
 prelate, and most glorious martyr, with other things of the
 like nature, from authorities to you undeniable, have brought
 some odde thoughts into my head how you came to be a
 clergyman, or what kind of mungrel creature you are : which
 was the reason I told you, that you for your part ought to
 have stood fast to your maxime, that the magistrate may
 exercise the priesthood in his own person ; though you have
 thought fit again in this book to disown it *. And then
 withall, reflecting as to your particular, who do so studiously
 oblige the clergy by qualifying them for political and secu-
 lar employments, although there be many constitutions (and
 I thought them priviledges) against it ; I begin to be of your
 mind, and that you are very capable of them great or small :
 and I acknowledge your humility, who being of so eminent
 parts, have not disdained, nevertheless, at first to exercise the
 office of the scavenger : in good time you may make a fur-
 ther progress.

† You are offended at me for using you with so much
 familiarity, for you perceive that we are so “intimately ac-
 “quainted, as if we had either robbed orchards or lam-
 “pooned

* Reproof, p. 13 and 22 ; and from p. 164 to p. 180.

† Idem, p. 106.

“pooned the court together.” You best know what you are good at ; but I have had so little society with you, except in your books, that my ignorance may be excusable. But I suppose you spoke figuratively, and by *robbing of orchards* you understood *Baldwin’s-Garden*; and by *lampooning the court*, you meant *Three-Crane-Court*; and you might have enlarged with *Bond’s-Stables* and the *Pall-Mall*; for I perceive you have had some conversation there which you would count it uncivil to commemorate, but neither do I remember that I was ever there in your company.

In the same page you accuse me “with comparing his Majesty to a mad horse, kicking and flinging most terribly.” ’Tis unkindly done of you, to say no worse: and to leave the reader better possessed against me, you quote not the place. The thing is below any answer, but to refer to the 110th page of my former book, being Horace’s of Augustus.

I cannot omit, lest some should take it for an expression of mine, what follows, for you seem to have couched it so on purpose. “This is too like the stubbornness of your shrew, that when she was ducked over head and ears, stretched up the symbols, or; as your pin-divines would have it, the sacraments of lowliness and cuckoldry *.” I have heard of some that have impoysoned with the
Sacrament,

* Reproof, p. 112.

Sacrament; of another Emperour that had his firname from the font; Constantinus Capronymus, having marred it at his baptisme, as did also Wenceslaus; of witches that have imploied the *hœstia* in their forceries; and of hereticks who have administered the Sacrament in the impurest elements: but I never read before of a divine that had to such height improved the invention. But, for the sacrament of lowliness I have formerly reckoned with you; for the sacrament of cuckoldry, cast up your own accounts. I cannot imagine where you took the rise too of this jump of wit, unless either from a secular, Andronicus Comnenus, who furnished an horn-gallery with a several stag's head for every man's wife he had to do with: or from an ecclesiastick, who was in former times like you, a penner of declarations, and filled a whole trunk with the single shoes of women, such was his humour, with whom he had the same occasion; this man having chosen the measure of the wive's foot, the other of the husband's head, to remain as the trophies of their lasciviousness. This is, I know, only a Julianisme, and you think, and are glad of the occasion, that as oft as you have to do with the Nonconformists, you have a liberty to speak prophanely, like those that will on purpose curse and swear the rather in civil company. For I suppose you make thus bold with the Sacraments, because I mentioned an argument not very weak on their part, that to institute and impose ceremonies, was to make so many new Sacraments; foras-

much as our church declares, “ that they serve not only for
 “ decent order and godly discipline, but they are apt to stir
 “ up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty
 “ to God, by some special and notable significancy whereby
 “ they may be edified.” And further our church defines a
 Sacrament “ an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual
 “ grace.” And I added, “ Our author besides makes them
 “ by his principle, when commanded, a new part of the divine
 “ law.” But to this I do not find that in a very large and
 noisome discourse you give any tolerable answer, but this jeer
 of *sacraments of lowliness and cuckoldry**, as in your other
 book, that they cry *sacraments, sacraments*, as if you had
 been swearing a Dutch oath ; save that you insist upon the
 old answer still, that “ divine institution is the only thing
 “ necessary to the nature and office of a Sacrament †.”
 Whereas, I think with submission, that by the same argu-
 ment, there can be no idolatry in the world. For idolatry
 is either worshipping a false God ; or else the worshipping
 of a true God after a false manner. Now, may you not as
 well say, that because there is but one true God, therefore
 men cannot adore a false one ; because there is but one true
 worship, men cannot practise superstition ; as because there
 are but two true Sacraments, men cannot devise new ones ?
 And though the church allows them not for Sacraments, you
 may remember the case of Julian’s soldiers at the burning of
 incense.

* Reproof, from p. 180 to p. 204.

† Idem, p. 186.

incense. It seems to me much the same, as if, because God made man upright, it were not possible for him to seek out many inventions. But enough of this, only I will furnish them with one argument more, though none of the weightiest, out of the Rationale of the Common Prayer *, which you ought not to have been ignorant of, the Bishop instructing us, that the collects are by some of the ancients called *sacramenta*, “either because their chief use was at the communion, or because they were uttered *per sacerdotem*.” At this rate there would indeed be *sacraments*, *sacraments*; I might pretend to be a shred of a sacrament; the whole liturgy would be so many sacraments; nay your Reproof might baffle to be a sacrament, as being uttered too *per sacerdotem*.

In many places of your book, and sure you think it a lucky hit, you would fix upon me the old *Martin Marprelate* (in one page you do it four times) let me only desire you as often to remember Martin Parker †, and your relation to him; for to my knowledge, if you do not make “ballads to the disgrace of religion,” you are a singer of such ballads, and if you be curious I will at a more convenient time rehearse them to you.

You had said our Saviour in chasing the sellers out of the temple (tradesmen you call them) had “put on, out

3 O 2

“of

* Rationale, p. 68.

† Reproof, p. 813.

“ of an hot fit of zeal, * a seeming fury and transport of
 “ passion, and that he took upon him in that action the
 “ person and priviledge of a Jewish zelote.” This I found
 fault with in my former book, and with good reason, if
 you would but consider that you say, “ a well meaning ze-
 “ lote is the worst of all villains.” You still defend it here
 by the examples of Phinees and Elias; and to have been
 “ a power or at least a license for private persons to execute
 “ by publick authority notorious malefactors, upon the
 “ place, without form and process of law †.” This privi-
 ledge is very far fetched, and long discontinued, if from
 the time of Phinees and Elias until our Saviour, there were
 no new claim entered. But really it seems to me, by this
 and some other passages, that you do not attribute much
 belief to the miracles of our Saviour, among which per-
 haps this was one of the most remarkable. For, to omit
 other authors, Grotius, who ought to be of as much value
 with you as all the rest put together, interprets the text
 thus : *Regni sui in hominum animos specimen aliquod Christus*
dederat asinorum accitu. Majus nunc & maxime admira-
bile edit in purganda æde paterna, nulla ut externa sola di-
vina virtute venerabilis. Our Saviour, saith he, “ had
 “ given an experiment of his kingdom over the minds of
 “ men by his sending for the asses. He gives now a greater
 “ and most admirable proof thereof by this cleansing of
 “ his

* Preface to Eccl. Pol. p. 7. and Defence, p. 152. † Reproof, p. 134.

“ his Father’s house, which he did by the Majesty of his
 “ Divine power, not of any external violence.”

I had quoted upon occasion Mr. Hales his book of schism, and Doctor Stillingfleet (who though yet living, deserves the honour to be already cited for good authority) * does the same, as I find since, styling him “ as learned and judicious
 “ a divine as most our nation hath bred, in his excellent
 “ though little tract of schisme † ;” and transcribes the same passages. You hereupon laugh at me, for having said in his commendation that he was a man “ who had cleared
 “ himself from froth and groons.” Had I been the author of that expression, it was not at all ridiculous, but is very proper and significant, and founded upon a Latine classical saying. But the best sport is, it is Mr. Hales his own words in that same book ; and though Mr. Hooker were “ so long-
 “ winded an author” that you never could read him, methinks you might have had the patience upon this occasion to have perused Mr. Hales his book of eight pages. But to amend the matter you say, “ the loftiest thing that can
 “ be said of so great a man as Mr. Hales is, that he was
 “ neither a mad man nor a fanatick.” I yield, Mr. Bayes, and instead of admiring “ that majesty and beauty which
 “ sits upon the forehead of masculine truth and generous
 “ honesty,” I will henceforward admire only the maidenly modesty and roſial blushes that bloom on your cheeks and inhabit

* Iren. p. 120.

† Reproof, p. 143.

inhabit your forehead. But this will not suffice : Mr. Hales you say too was a Socinian. I see you did not serve your fanatick prenticeship in vain. No man can tell you truth but he must presently be a Socinian. You have spent much paper in your defence, to decipher the fanatick deportment toward all adversaries : but, whether it be theirs or no, I am sure you have learnt it to the height. “ He “ has dropped,” you say, “ some loose passages in that treatise, for which himself was then censured and the book “ is still, though the author be pardoned, because as he “ did not first publish it, so he afterward recanted it.” Most judicially said, and in the language of the tribunal. But who told you this fine story ? Doctor Heylin I warrant you ; for as for yourself it appears you never read him. But if Mr. Hales of Schisme be too loose for you, will you be pleased to admit my Lord Archbishop of Canterburies authority ; that the schisme is alwayes the crime of those who give the occasion ? ‘But if neither Mr. Hales, nor the late Lord Archbishop may be trusted in the matter, pray, Sir, inquire in the shops for *Copernicus of schisme*, if there be any such treatise, for that author would have been the most proper to have solved the *phænomena* either way.

You take occasion here and in very many other places of your book, to tax me partly upon Bishop Bramhall’s account * (and more of my Lord Archbishop Laud, Hugo

Grotius, and others) as if I had traduced him under a seeming commendation. To this once for all. Had it not been for your Preface to Bishop Bramhall (which I will never pardon, because it drew me out into publick to be a writer) I had never medled with him. But no man will fare the better or gain reputation by keeping you company : whereas you intrude yourself upon men of the best authority, by their names to render yourself considerable. In that preface you stuffed out the bishop with such bombast, you rung such an incessant peal of *in Laudem Thomæ bum, bum, bum, sine sine*, that it would have made an horse break his halter. But now that I have wrought so good an effect, as to rescue him in some sort from you, and that you have since (which looks prettily) printed your *preface* without his book, I will not (though I have so fresh a temptation by your censure of Mr. Hales) further molest his memory, but let his life and death be buried together. And if I have in some historical passages writ too distinctly, I cannot ascribe whatsoever errour of that kind I may have committed, to any other cause than the reading of ill books, which have perhaps vitiated my stile as well as others. For ever since you were to be sold at Jo. Shirley's, Sam. Thompson's, Rich. Davis's, J. Martin's, James Collins's, Henry Hall's, you have so perpetually pestered the press with your own books and obstructed better authors, that men have scarce had any thing else to read, and so your

virulence.

virulence has corrupted the age you live in. For as I instanced to you in my former book, your malignant remark even upon Bishop Bramhall, that, “as far as the prejudice of the age would permit him, he was an acute philosopher;” I think it now pertinent to shew in some few examples more how civil you are to your friends, and of consequence how generous to your adversaries. First, for friend Galen. “I confess that Galen gave a kind of specimen in his book *de usu partium*, which though it is indeed a famous work, yet it is not so divine as to be writ by enthusiasme; but alwayes seemed to me such a thing as might either be very much amended, or much improved: which I do not say that I may extenuate Galen’s commendation*.” No, I know you do not, just as, “you did not publish your preface to impair Mr. B’s. esteem in the least, but to correct his scribbling humour, and for a warning to the rat-divines, and to show how the bishop baffled him without condescending to his *systematical* and *push-pin divinity* †.” Then Friend Harvy. “In whatsoever manner therefore generation is performed, whether the man do only, &c. (which excellent Doctor Harvy guesses at, but not so ingeniously as he is wont.)” And yet you were not acquainted with your *comfortable importance*. Who next? “I wonder how *Mercurius Trismegistus* could cozen those great counsellors of criticisme ‡, Lipsius, the Scaliger,

* Tent. p. 77.

† Idem, p. 106.

‡ Idem, p. 189.

“gers, &c. and I cannot but admire that Lipsius, Scaliger, Vossius, nay, and Grotius too, so many clearfighted men, should understand the thing wrong, as if they did it on set purpose *.” See more, “our countrymen Sanford or Parker, in a most learned book of Christ’s descending into hell, which begun by Sanford, Parker finished, first attempted to accommodate, wrong and rashly, the theological history of the Gentiles to the sacred history : but whoever was the first author, the venerable names of Scaliger, Selden, Bochart, Vossius, ay, and Grotius again, brought it in reputation ; so that every man that affects to be accounted a prime philologer, sets up forthwith to accommodate of any fashion the Greek matters to the Hebrew ; the scabbado of which affectation does so break out every day, &c †.” but they got the itch it seems first of Grotius, and those other scoundrels. It is to be considered, Mr. Bayes, that you are *the wonder of this age*, so they must all subscribe to you, and carry your books after you. On : “I do not question but that great and honourable person Picus Mirandula was a person of stupendous parts and learning : yet I am sure that those notions wherewith he made the greatest noise in the world, were but grand and pompous futilities ‡.” For the school doctors you abuse them at every turn || ; and I could away with it better but for one reason, which is, that you say in the fifth leaf of your

VOL. II.

3 P

Preface :

* Tent. p. 188. † Idem, p. 265. ‡ Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 100. || Idem, p. 68 and p. 93, and Reproof, p. 201.

Preface : “ it was never any part of the Church of England’s design to exchange the old school doctors for Calvinian systemes and syntagmes,” so that it is not so handsomely said of them therefore that “ they are full of such stuff as makes fools stare, and wise men laugh *.” But whereas I had hereupon said p. 213. that you had owned the schoolmen for authors of the Church of England’s divinity, you formally deny it, insulting with all your natural and acquired rudeness. It is not worth the reader’s trouble to interests him in such a foolish brabble ; but if any one please to take the pains to inspect your book again, as I have done, and quoted the leaf on this occasion, the most he can say will be that you have cheated me ; but if you have done it so cunningly that it cannot be made out evidently, I am content to go by the loss. Yet for a collateral proof, how far to rely either upon your good faith or good memory in what you yourself write, let him take one instance where you quote me in my page 120. “ Thus when you cite for your own convenience that passage, that rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, you are pleased to add too, that this text will scarce admit my interpretation ; and yet you know no more what my interpretation would be than you do what witchcraft and rebellion are †.” You might have done me the favour instead of saying “ I cite it for mine own convenience,” to have begun with my own words ; “ I will
“ allow

* Reproof, p. 200, 201. † Idem, p. 124.

“allow him that rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft.” But that candor is not to be expected : Yet to show you that I know better what you write, and what your interpretation would be than you do yourself, pray read in your Preface to Bishop Bramhall, 32 leaf ; where you say, “the clergy of England are as strongly principled against the hateful sin of rebellion as against witchcraft or idolatry.” Then see the text 1 Sam. 15, 25. “For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry.” Now, Mr. Bayes, whether did I not at least guess shrewdly at your interpretation ? But you are excusable, forasmuch as you confessed in that Preface, both at beginning and end, “that you knew not what it would prove, nor had leisure nor patience to examine whether it were idle or not idle *.” Proceed : “I might have added to them the late grand dogmatical master of modern orthodoxy, whose rude dogmatizing has occasioned as many controversies in the Christian church as ever Manes and Valentinus did.” Had you told his name it had been fairer ; but by the project of that whole book it seems to be Calvine. So, Mr. Bayes, he is sped : you have done his work that he shall never lift up his head again. Yet ; “Lucian is every where so abusive and bitter in his satyres against all sorts of philosophers, that, if his mouth be any slander, they must have been a pack of the vilest villains that ever breathed †.” Nevertheless you say, “some have slandered Plato himself,

3 P 2

“together

* Conf. Plat. Phil. p. 93.

† Idem, p. 6.

“ together with Socrates, as guilty of that unnatural sin of
 “ the lustful Sodomites; which calumny had never gained
 “ any credit with us, had it not been reported by some of the
 “ ancient fathers; and yet it is too notorious to dissemble,
 “ that those fathers were not only very careless in their re-
 “ lations concerning them, being apparently guilty of innu-
 “ merable faults of memory, but also in many instances
 “ highly disingenuous; insomuch that I find no prose-
 “ writer agree so much with their reports as Lucian, whose
 “ main design it was to abuse every thing that was grave and
 “ sober *.” Well spoke for your clients, Mr. Bayes; ay,
 and for yourself too. For, “ while you,” forsooth, “ take
 “ only that most delightful prospect to behold others scam-
 “ bling and aspiring to those things which you condemn and
 “ trample upon, and while your palate is not surfeited and
 “ cloyed with the same repeated relishes †;” (for you were
 but newly come from your greuel) “ nor your eye quite
 “ weary of beholding the same repeated objects, yet you
 “ could have been highly contented (upon the account of a
 “ philosophic curiosity) to leave this present theater, that
 “ you might enter upon the next for the delight of being
 “ entertained with a new scene of things ‡;” yet you
 handled it so, that by p. 242, you were “ upon the very
 “ point of your departure to London.” Go on and
 prosper. But, “ had the pristine learning of Egypt been
 “ the same it was in later ages, it had been as great a
 “ disparagement

* Conf. Plat. Phil. p. 19, 20.

† Idem, p. 18.

‡ Idem, p. 16.

“disparagement to Moses, as ’tis now justly reputed a
 “commendation, that he was accomplished in all the
 “Egyptian learning, and had amounted only to this, that
 “he was a vain, trifling, superstitious fellow*.” Why so?
 You put it, Mr. Bayes, too hard upon Moses. For neither
 did you intend it as a disparagement to Bishop Bramhall, that
 “as far as the prejudice of the age would permit him, he
 “was an acute philosopher†.” Still, it “is not my design
 “by representing those primitive sages as fools and dunces,
 “to rob them of that esteem and veneration with which they
 “have been deservedly honoured in all succeeding ages.”
 That is more gentle where you say, “you might give account
 “too of the mean abilities of Orpheus and Pythagoras, but
 “that you delight not to speak too hardly of any virtuoso’s
 “ashes‡.” But to conclude, whether do you handle our
 Saviour himself more softly? “And then if we look into
 “our Saviour’s life, the unparalleled civility and obliging-
 “ness of his deportment seems to be almost as high an evi-
 “dence of the truth and divinity of his doctrine, as his un-
 “paralleled miracles were. For it is altogether unima-
 “ginable that so sweet-natured a person should be so base
 “and profligate an impostor, as he must have been, if he had
 “been one.” And yet yourself must, and do, avow, that
 he was not so sweet-natured to the Scribes and Pharisees,
 “Matt.

* Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 242. Idem, p. 101. † Idem, p. 102. ‡ Idem, p. 25--

“Matt. xxiii. 15. Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees,
 “hypocrites, for ye compass sea and land to make one pro-
 “felyte, and when he is made, you make him twofold more
 “the child of hell than yourselves, &c.” and so in many
 other places. You know too, that he was once in a very
 “hot fit of zeal, and a seeming fury and transport of pas-
 “sion.” You say too, that, “whereas the gentle and
 “sweet-natured St. John was his darling disciple, you often
 “find him checking Peter’s rude and unmannerly zeal.”

But by the way, where is it that you find it so often? I
 cannot find it more than once, which was when he rebuked
 him for cutting off Malchus his ear: neither is he there so
 severe upon him as you are, to tax him^{*} of *rudeness and un-*
mannerliness. But once is not often. You, I doubt, trusted
 herein too much to your memory, and thought he had
 checked his zeal four times, because the same thing is re-
 lated by all the four Evangelists. I find, indeed, that our
 Saviour, 1 John xxii. checked Peter for inquiring what
 should be of John; and asked him, “what is that to thee?”
 But here he reproveth not his zeal but his curiosity. And at
 another time, Matt. xiv. 31. when Peter walking on the
 water, began to sink, he blamed his want of faith. And
 xvi. Matt. 23. our Saviour said to him, “Get thee behind
 “me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me, for thou favourest
 “not the things that be of God, but the things that be of
 men.”

“men.” But this was not neither because of Peter’s zeal, but the unseasonable care he had of our Saviour’s preservation. And I do not at present remember that he was checked oftener upon whatsoever occasion. This mistake arises from reading of Plutarch, when you should be at your Bible and devotions: and “the ravishing delight you take in labouring your periods, and framing your own thoughts and conceptions into words,” makes you forget the text of Scripture. You were sure, and had some *idea* remaining, that some-body was checked; and so it were for zeal, (which was to your present purpose) it was not so much matter with you on whom it lighted. Whereas indeed I doubt it was that very John whom you oppose to Peter. For, Luke ix. 54. he, because a village of the Samaritans would not entertain our Saviour, would presently have “commanded fire from heaven to consume them, as did Elias” (whom too you quoted for one of your Zelotes.) And him, indeed, our Saviour severely rebuked for that zeal, telling him, “he knew not what manner of spirit he was of.” And to this I might add Matt. x. 35. and Luke xx. 20. where the mother of Zebedee’s children, and the sons James and this John would first have covenanted with our Saviour, that he should grant them whatsoever they desired, and then made it the request of their family, “that they two might sit, one at his right hand and the other at his left in his kingdom;” for which he rebuked them, saying

further,

further, “ Whosoever will be great among you shall be your
 “ servant ; and whoever will be the chief of you shall be
 “ the servant of all.” So that indeed I doubt you have
 robbed John to pay Peter with his *rudeness and unmanner-*
liness, and in making it *often*, you have mistook thus the
 number of the persons for the frequency of the time. But
 you may perhaps object, that this last of John was not a
 fault of zeal, but of ambition ; nevertheless, because some
 mens zeal is only for pre-eminence, and thereupon they are
 often rude and unmannerly to their betters, I thought it not
 unseasonable to put you in-mind of it on this occasion, that
 you might apply it to yourself, and learn, that being an
 Archdeacon, you ought, instead of contending for superi-
 ority over others, *to be their minister*. But I pray you reflect
 seriously upon this your mistake, and hereafter either read the
 English Bible more carefully, and “ the words” (but you will
 not allow them to be so) “ of our Saviour and the Apostles*,”
 or else, like a *traditor*, lay it by for good and all, as “ a
 “ book in some places erroneous, in some places scarce sense,
 “ and of dangerous consequences, when every pert, bold,
 “ and conceited fellow takes upon himself to raise doctrines
 “ and opinions thence, contrary to the meaning of God in
 “ his holy word, and contrary to the mind and meaning of
 “ the Holy Ghost, &c †.”

But, to let these things be as they will, it is however too
 bold to say (but you durst not adventure further) that “ the
 “ civility

* Hierome, p. 104.

† Idem, p. 105.

“ civility of our Saviour’s deportment was almost as high an
 “ evidence of the divinity of his doctrine, as his unparalleled
 “ miracles, otherwise he had been a base and profligate im-
 “ postor *.” You ought not to put such things as these
 upon cross and pile so, for ill use may be made of it, though
 it should be against your intention. And really, had you
 writ as much of Mahomet as you have here done of Christ
 and Moses, you have put fair to be, as you have been the
 second author of Ecclesiastical Politie, so now, of the *tre*
grandi impostori. So that you see, I hope, by this time, if
 my stile hath differently deciphered the same person in dif-
 ferent circumstances, where I learnt it, but have not yet
 attained the height of your faculty.

You condemn me for having, in my p. 309 †, mentioned
 the reverend Bishop Andrews his form of consecration of a
 church or chapel, which I might have done at large, and
 inserted something of history that depends upon it: but I
 did not. Neither shall I now say any thing further, but only
 refer you to Archbishop Parker, p. 85. of his *Antiquitates*
Ecclesiæ Britannicæ, where you may find what his judgment
 was in this case of things of the very same nature.

I had said, p. 166 of my book, that I could quote my
 Lord Verulam to your confusion: hereupon you tell me
 the “ quotation of my Lord Verulam would have been more

* Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 25.

† Reproof, p. 138.

“ to the purpose, or the story of pork, which you say I
 “ know, but I say, I do not know ; or however, if I did, you
 “ might have had the manners to have told it for his Ma-
 “ jesties sake, because he knows how to make use of it *.”

You think you put me hard to it. I am sorry that I must trouble the reader with such stuff, and these mean contests *de lana porcina*. But this is all the fleece a man can hope for in shearing you. I had told you, sir, (there was not a word of his Majesty) in my p. 300, alluding to your tautologies, “ that all the variety of your treat is pork (you know the “ story) but so little disguised by good cookery, that it dis- “ covers the miserableness, or rather the penury of the host.”

Now here have you brought my p. 166 into conjunction with my p. 300, that (which every man will discern) because my Lord Verulam was mentioned, you might make a quibble betwixt *pork* and *bacon*. Nor did I ever see a quibble fetched at greater distance, or more cunningly carried. But in whatsoever you undertake you are extraordinary, as (because I promised you before some instances in your Ecclesiastical Politie) where you are informing the world concerning some “ sects of men made up of sanctified fury, &c. †” *Tois gar Presbuteroisin*, &c. which was to make a Greek quibble, forsooth, upon the Presbyterians, and of so many ages ago. Whereas the good old poet never dreamed of any such thing, or such a nation, and the chronology and
 geography

* Reproof, p. 155.

† Eccl. Pol. p. 150.

geography of it varies as much as in the play of Moses and Julius Cæsar. A third instance shall be in an anagram you give us of Calvin, that is *Culina*: though it be in two languages that understand not one another, and the man spent very little in his kitchen, nor made provision for it, but all went to his study, and yet his whole inventory at his death mounted not to above seventy pounds sterling. This may serve for a specimen or scantling of your wit, and to shew how well you spent your time at both universities: “which I do not say by any means to diminish your just commendation,” for certainly none ever quibbled with greater Enthusiasme.

I shall upon this occasion take leave to digress a little further concerning Calvin and Geneva, to which you are every where a declared enemy. The town you might have spared, if not for his, yet for Sales his sake, the Bishop of Geneva; whose book was thought fit to be licensed by your predecessor Doctor Heywood: though afterwards it was called in and burnt by proclamation, but the Doctor was *punished with preferment*. But as to Calvin himself, it had been well that you had rather imitated the incomparable modesty and candor of Reverend Mr. Hooker in all his writings, and especially in this particular; but how should you imitate him whom, notwithstanding your challenging and defying the Nonconformists with his Ecclesiastical Politie, it

seems you had never read. "I think," saith he, "that Calvin was incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church did enjoy, since it enjoyed him. Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading, so much as by teaching others. For though thousands were debtors to him as touching knowledge in that kind, yet he to none, but only to God the author of that most blessed fountain the book of life; and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning, which were his guides." And I find the Reverend Bishop of Durham, Doctor Morton, in his little tract *de pace Ecclesiastica*, had no less opinion of him. In that tract the bishop, as also Bishop Davenant, Bishop Hall, and others do with singular wisdom and piety treat concerning reconciliation of Protestants among themselves: a design much more probable and better timed than that which was set up by others for the accommodating of our Church with the Roman. There he saith, *consulant illi si placet Lutherum, Melanchthonem, Jac. Andream Brentium. Nos Calvinum nostrum, Petrum Martyrum & Zanchium profereamus* (we will produce saith he our Calvin) *qui singuli in Ecclesia Christi veluti primæ magnitudinis lumina fulserunt.* And he adds upon occasion in the next page, *Hæc Calvinus tam pacate, tam placide, tamque indulgenter, ut jam non homo sed ipsa humanitas loqui videatur.* It were endless to cite testimonies of all sorts of men, not only of the Protestant, but

but of the Romish, perswasion concerning that excellent person : but indeed he needs no more certain commendation than that he is traduced and accused by you. And whereas you tax him as pragmatistical and intermedling with other mens matters ; what could he do otherwise, all the learned men of Europe soliciting his approved judgement in the most weighty occasions. Nor therefore could he avoid that general correspondence by letters, of another stile I am sure than your letters are, who are therefore offended at him. Though you might have remembered that there were some letters too writ to him by Archbishop Parker. But the design of you and those of your cast has been and still it seems to continue, against all the foraign churches : and you are but Heylin resuscitated, whose business it was by his scandalous histories to blacken the whole Reformation; attributing (as Reverend Doctor Moulin well expresses it) and “ imputing the excesses that happened by the ordinary “ course of humane business unto religion.” And he did it to so good purpose, that I believe his books have occasioned among us the defection of more Protestants unto the Romish religion, than any thing that themselves have writ in the points of controversie. And this distance from all other of the reformed churches hath been and is held up by you and your party so studiously, that beside what has been writ against them with all bitterness, they have even in cases of extremity and necessity refused to communicate with :

with them. Hence it is that you say in your Preface ;
 “ Therefore, reader, I beg thy hearty prayers and endeavours
 “ for the peace and prosperity of the Church of England”
 (he had need when you do so dangerously interrupt it) “ for
 “ when that is gone it will be very hard to find out ano-
 “ ther, with which, if thou art either honest or wise,
 “ thou wilt be over forward to joyn communion,” and why
 so ? Truly I know not unless it be for some more peculiar
 and ceremonial perfection that our church may have attained
 to above others. And this indeed hath been alwayes mag-
 nified and esteemed to that height by those of your bran
 and leaven, that even our own kings and bishops have all
 along been characterized by them well or ill, according as
 they promoted those matters or remitted them. As for
 Henry the Eighth, he is a gone man, and his sacrilege
 will never be pardoned even in his successors. For Edward
 the Sixth, that miracle of princes, “ yet his death was
 “ none of the infelicities of the Church of England.” But
 might he not have lived to be wiser and better ? But in the
 blessed reign of Queen Mary (as in the preface of the Oxford
 statutes compiled in the time of Archbishop Laud) *potiunte*
rerum Maria, inter incerta vacillans statuta viguit Acade-
mia, celebrantur studia, enituit disciplina, & optanda tem-
porum felicitate (if it could be had again for wishing) *tabu-*
larum defectus resarcivit innatus candor, & quicquid legibus
deerat moribus suppletum est. But then upon her death there

came in an iron age. *Terras Astræa reliquit.* For *decurrente temporum serie* (that is in Queen Elizabeth and King James his times) & *vitiis* & *legibus pariter laboratum est*: all was quite spoiled; yet sometimes she was Elizabeth and sometimes Old Elfbeth with you, thereafter as she behaved herself in the matter of conformity. There in her *Quinto Eliz.* “she was miserably out in her divinity.” And then in *decimo tertio* she did no better when she was contented the Puritans should only subscribe the articles of doctrine. But at other times she was pretty tolerable. King James was more busie than belonged him, when he writ a letter to her in behalf of the Nonconformists: but after he succeeded her in England he made amends. But he had a great fault nevertheless, that he was so uncivil to the Arminians, even to such a degree, as to stile “Arminius the enemy of God, Arminianisme heresie, the Arminians hereticks and atheistical sectaries.” For though in England he advanced the episcopal government, yet he had adhered to the doctrine of Calvin, which you and your tribe do so detest, that though a king please you never so well in matter of conformity, yet unless he humour you too in Arminianisme or such devices, he cannot be assured of your good graces. And so it is too even as to the bishops. Archbishop Cranmer is subject to many exceptions. But Archbishop “Parker was a prelate of great worth, and no less eminent in the churches cause.” But Archbishop “Grindall

“ Grindall was a man of another spirit ; he having con-
 “ versed with Calvin and Beza abroad could not shake off
 “ their acquaintance, or was as willing to continue it as
 “ they : when Bishop of London, he condescended to
 “ have a French Church set up in the city : when of York
 “ he entertained correspondence with Zanchy a divine of
 “ Heidelberg.” An hainous crime ! “ Nay, but when he
 “ was Archbishop of Canterbury, he not only connived at
 “ the lectures, which were newly set up by the Puritans,
 “ but even encouraged them.” A sad man was he. But
 then came Archbishop Whitgift, who repaired all that
 had run to ruine “ by the negligence and remissness of
 “ some great Bishops,” and by the zeal of the Grendalizing
 lecturers. And yet this truly venerable bishop could not
 escape censure too among you ; for, though he were right
 in ceremonies, yet he was wrong in substance, and gave
 authority to the articles of Lambeth, which run point blank
 against the Arminian tenets. Therefore notwithstanding
 all his merits, he can scarce be forgiven. But Archbishop
 Bancroft was a man I trow without exception. But then
 as misfortune would have it Archbishop Abbot succeeds
 him, and “ he was too facil and yielding in the exercise
 “ of that great office, and by his extraordinary remissness
 “ in exacting strict conformity to the prescribed orders of
 “ the church in point of ceremony, he seemed to resolve
 “ those legal determinations to their first indifference.

“ And

“ And he brought in such an habit of nonconformity, that the
 “ future reduction of those tender conscienced men to a long
 “ discontinued obedience was at the last interpreted an inno-
 “ vation.” This is out of your Doctor Heylin, who goes
 down with you for gospel, and is to you like meat, drink,
 and cloathing. All this adoe must be made for things that
 profit nothing, (save that to you indeed they are very pro-
 fitable) and according as great princes or eminent prelates
 are more or less ceremonious, so must they be ranked in
 your calendar. By how much a man is more a Christian
 you account him the worse bishop : and it is now grown,
 instead of the requisites in Scripture to that sacred office,
 a sufficient commendation to have been “ an admirable
 “ Ritualist.”

’Tis now time to return to our pork and bacon ; but
 because you cry pork pork as often as any raven, I will
 first, to stay your stomach, give you the story of the pork,
 and the rather to satisfy another friend of mine, who did
 me the favour to interpret it of his Highness the Duke of
 York, when he contented himself the former year with the
 homely fare of the mariners at the Dogger-bank. It was at
 an audience of the embassadors of the Ætolians and Antiochus,
 in the Council of Achæa, Quintius, the Roman general, being
 present, Antiochus his embassadors boasted there very much
 of the potent armies of their King ; thundring out the hard

names of Elymæans, Cadufians, Medians, &c. of which they consisted : whereupon Quintius, to take off the wonderment and terrour, replied ; (and I will give you honest Philemon Holland for an interpreter) “ Now in faith this is
 “ mine host of Chalcis up and down, a friendly man I assure
 “ you, and a good fellow in his house, and one that know-
 “ eth how to entertain his guests, and make them very
 “ welcome. We went upon a time to make merry with him
 “ and I remember it was at Midsummer, when the dayes
 “ are longest and the sun at the hottest. And as we won-
 “ dered how, at such a season of the year, he met with
 “ that plenty of venison, and such variety withall, the man,
 “ nothing so vain glorious as these fellows are, smiled plea-
 “ santly upon us, and said we were welcome to a feast of
 “ good swine and no better : but well fare a good cook, my
 “ masters, who by his cunning hand, what with seasoning it,
 “ and what with serving it up with divers sauces, has made
 “ all this fair shew of wild flesh, and the same of sundry
 “ sorts.” Thus, Mr. Bayes, have I revealed to you this
 great myserie of pork, of which you were so curious, and
 which tended only, as I told you, to show how jejune you
 were, who in all your matters, and even in that of railing,
 whereof you are most copious and the best furnished, yet are
 forced to serve up to the reader continually the cold hashes
 of plain repetitions, to stuff out your books and fill your
 table. I hope I have with this stayed your stomach, and if
 you

you will but expect a little, I will too in convenient time bring in your *bacon*.

You had, to make the ceremonies go down better with the Nonconformists, said, “that ’twas no more for the magistrate to impose them, than to determine a new signification of words.” For it is your great art to make the ceremonies at once stupendiously necessary, and at the same time despicably little; both a fly and a whale,

“In whose vast bulk, though store of oyle doth lye,
“We find more shape, more beauty in a fly *.”

This I made merry with, as of good reason. For it would raise a very great disorder in the world to bouleverse so, and overturn the signification of all words: for even in the name of your function, if a man should but chance to lisse, it would make a dangerous alteration; but however, to impose such contrary significations with the same penalties too, would make wild work, and pester the nation with a whole swarm of informers. But in that debate, I instanced in Augustus Cæsar, who was so shy of unusual words: and this you will needs have to be a notable mistake, because Julius Cæsar compiled a book *de Analogia*, forgetting that Suetonius † describes at large Augustus his hereditary exquisiteness in that particular. “Those which delighted in new words, and those which affected old” (apply it to ceremonies)

3 R. 2

* Rehearsal Comedy, p. 40.

† *In vita Aug.* 86, & 88.

monies) “ he equally despised, both being alike contemptible :” infomuch that it was reported he displaced a Confular Lieutenant for a fault of orthography : and if orthography in worship were now as strictly observed, perhaps your spiritual lieutenancy might run the same risk.

I had chanced in my book to speak of Hudibras, with that esteem which an excellent piece of wit upon whatsoever subject will always merit. But you hereupon fall into such a fit and rupture of railing at me, that you have exceeded not only all the oyster-women and butter-whores, but even yourself, pretending that I have done him some dishonour. Should I study a fuitable return to you, I could not raise myself into more choler than to call you a *jewel*, a *glass-drop*, a *tintinnabulum*, words that you with some sympathy delight in, and whose heraldry is to be pendant. As for you, I cannot restrain you of this liberty, who have wisely taken safeguard in the ecclesiastical function, and foreseeing betimes what occasion you might have, thought fit to post yourself up in print that *you are not valiant* *. Only I could have for your own sake wished you had not called me Judas, lest so eminent a divine as you are, should appear more concerned for Hudibras than for your Saviour. For the rest, you may please to know, that, whatever you have here said to me, cannot either diminish or increase my esteem for that author.

You

* Cenf. Plat. Phil. p. 15.

You foam again as in the falling-sickness *, because I had said, that I thought God never intended the clergy for political and secular employments, and you make it to be no less than blasphemy. If they be so enamoured of those drudgeries, and have deputed you to maintain it, much good may it do them and you. But why should you upon no more occasion tell me, *Fatuos & hujus terræ filios quod attinet* (saith a Jewish zelote) *non magis nostro judicio prophetare possunt quam asinus & ranæ.* “Asses and tadpoles may as soon expect the impressions of the Divine Spirit, as such dunces and fots as you :” but these words of yours I suppose you pretend to be dictated by that Spirit. And further you say, “the *Ruac Hakodesh* dwell in such a distempered and polluted mind as yours ! it may as soon unite itself to a swine.” *Ruac Hakodesh*, Mr. Bayes ! this is as your other Bayes has it, “A crust, a lasting crust for your rogue critiques : I would fain see the proudest of them all but dare to nibble at this. “If they do, this shall rub their gums for ’em, I promise you †.” I doubt your *Ruac Hakodesh* is but at best a *Bath-col.* But is not this of yours fine language, think you, for an *A. Sac. Dom.* ? *O seytang aurang olanda bacala samatay,* To shew you, Mr. Bayes, that I too have been sometimes conversant with the Jewish zelotes, I will tell you hereupon a story out of one of them, that shall, as yours, be nameless. There was among the Jews a certain kind of people that were

* Reproof, p. 326.

† Rehearsal Comedy, p. 14.

were called *profelytes*, which you may in English interpret *turn-coats*, concerning whom was that expression that I quoted you before of our Saviour's, Matt. xxiii. 15. "Wo
 " unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you com-
 " pass sea and land to make a profelyte, and when he is
 " made, you make him twofold more the child of hell than
 " you yourselves." Now what I shall tell you of these men, I would not have you to misapply unto such conscientious persons, as have re-united themselves unto the discipline of our church; for I wish that all the Nonconformists rather could find reason to do in like manner: but it relates particularly to yourself, who, abandoning all modesty and Christianity toward your former party, have defiled and dishonoured the church that has received you into protection. But concerning these profelytes and turn-coats it was that the Jews had that maxime, *Profelyti & pæderastæ impediunt adventum Messiae*: and again, *Profelyti sunt sicut scabies Israeli*; that they were like a scab or leprosie to Israel. Therefore when a profelyte was circumcised, they first catechized him about the sincerity of his conversion; whether he did not do it, *ob adipiscendas divitias*, to make his fortune; *ob timorem*, for fear of some inconvenience; or lastly, *ob amorem erga aliquam Israeliticam*, whether there were not some woman in the bottom of the business. For they had a shrewd suspicion of them, *quod non periti essent mandatorum, quodve inducerent vindictas, atque insuper quod forte*
 I *eorum*

eorum opera imitarentur Israelitæ: and therefore it was *quod profelyti opus habebant triumviratu*, and they would not trust them until three men had examined and taken care that all were right. And if it chanced that both the man and the wife came together to be profelytes, they were used to separate and keep them apart for ninety days, *ut dijudicari possit inter prolem in sanctitate genitam*. Nay, moreover there was a baptisme peculiarly solemn before they could be admitted, and a great ceremonial *rationale* by which it was to be administered. The whole body was to be dipped *mersione una*. *Si, excepto apice minimi digiti, manebat adhuc in immunditia. Si quis capillosus admodum, omnem crinem capitis abluere necesse erat*. And there were many other scrupulous niceties in this washing. As for the water; *homo Gonorrhæus non mundatur nisi in fonte: sed menstruosa & Profelytus in collectione aquarum*. But put the case the same man were *Profelytus* and *Gonorrhæus* too, though the Rabbies were very exact, I find not this decided; but it is easie to collect that he must have passed thorow both waters. They were so curious as to regulate what proportion too of water was sufficient, and the least quantity that could be allowed was, *quatuor sex aquarum*, and the dimension *cubitus quadratus*, &c. Now, Mr. Bayes, I would gladly be satisfied whether you have been rightly and duly profelyted according to these ceremonies, (for you know that the Jewish ceremonies are not so abrogated but that the Proconsul may re-establish them)

them) but particularly have you been drawn cross the river to Lambeth? Has not so much as the top of your little finger escaped ducking? Is there not one hair of your head but has been over head and ears in the river? All this ought to have been exactly observed, (especially considering how much filth you brought about you) else you are not a true turn-coat but remain still in your uncleanness. And you might have had the advantage, in traversing thus the water, to have caught some of the prophecying *tadpoles* you speak of. But really, there is yourself, and some few more such proselytes to our church, that are so impure creatures, that before you had been admitted into it, *it had been absolutely necessary* for you to have passed thorow this cold water ordeal.

You do three times at least in your Reproof*, and in your Transproser Rehearsed well nigh half the book thorow, run upon an author J. M. which does not a little offend me. For why should any other man's reputation suffer in a contest betwixt you and me? But it is because you resolved to suspect that he had an hand in my former book, wherein whether you deceive yourself or no, you deceive others extremely. For by chance I had not seen him of two years before; but after I undertook writing, I did more carefully avoid either visiting or sending to him, lest I should any way involve him in my consequences. And you might have understood, or I am sure your friend the author of the

Common

Common Places could have told you, (he too had a flash at J. M. upon my account) that had he took you in hand, you would have had cause to repent the occasion, and not escaped so easily as you did under my Transposal. But I take it moreover very ill that you should have so mean an opinion of me, as not to think me competent to write such a simple book as that without any assistance. It is a sign (however you upbraid me often as your old acquaintance) that you did not know me well, and that we had not much conversation together. But because in your 115 p. you are so particular “you know a friend of ours, &c.” intending that J. M. and his answer to Salmasius, I think it here seasonable to acquit my promise to you in giving the reader a short trouble concerning my first acquaintance with you. J. M. was, and is, a man of great learning and sharpness of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be tossed on the wrong side, and he writ *flagrante bello* certain dangerous treatises. His books of *Divorce* I know not whether you may have use of; but those upon which you take him at advantage were of no other nature than that which I mentioned to you, writ by your own father; only with this difference, that your father’s, which I have by me, was written with the same design, but with much less wit or judgement, for which there was no remedy: unless you will supply his judgment with his high court of justice. At his Majesties happy re-

turn, J. M. did partake, even as you yourself did for all your huffing, of his regal clemency, and has ever since expiated himself in a retired silence. It was after that, I well remember it, that being one day at his house, I there first met you and accidentally. Since that I have been scarce four or five times in your company, but, whether it were my foresight or my good fortune, I never contracted any friendship or confidence with you. But then it was, when you, as I told you, wandered up and down Moor-fields astrologizing upon the duration of his Majesties government, that you frequented J. M. incessantly and haunted his house day by day. What discourses you there used he is too generous to remember. But he never having in the least provoked you, for you to insult thus over his old age, to traduce him by your *Scaramuccios*, and in your own person, as a school-master; who was born and hath lived much more ingenuously and liberally than yourself; to have done all this, and lay at last my simple book to his charge, without ever taking care to inform yourself better, which you had so easie opportunity to do; nay, when you yourself too have said, to my knowledge, that you saw no such great matter in it but that I might be the author: it is inhumanely and inhospitably done, and will I hope be a warning to all others, as it is to me, to avoid (I will not say such a Judas,) but a man that creeps into all companies, to jeer, trepan, and betray them.

But

But after this fresh example of romantick generosity, and your Johnlike good nature, you plunge over head and ears into history. That of Sibthorpe and Manwaring, I had occasion before to speak of in better method. I shall therefore only renew your own request in your epistle to the reader, “that they would peruse it with an unprejudiced mind, and an ordinary attention,” and I shall leave the rest to their judgements. For I do not know but that you may have some peculiar dispensation to determine those in 3^d *Caroli* to have been *most notorious rebels*, notwithstanding that in the year 1667, this present parliament resolved in the most solemn and judicial manner, by a concurrence of the Lords with the Commons, “that the judgement against them in 5 *Caroli* was illegal.” As to Manwaring’s particular, whose cause you take up with a remarkable concernment, I cannot but attribute it to some extraordinary correspondence of *genius* betwixt you. His very name hath more influence and power upon you than Doctor Bathurst’s Talismans *; and that very week that you uttered this history of Doctor Manwaring, comes out in the Gazette of the first of May (I know not by what sympathy) “The History and Mystery of the Venereal Luës, being a more new and ample discovery of that disease, than yet hath been extant, with the medicines and methods of cure practised in Italy, Spain, Germany, Holland, France and England, &c. by J. Manwaring, Doctor of Physick.”

You launch out into a relation of the conference too at Worcester House, betwixt the Episcopal and the Nonconformist Divines, by his Majesties commission. What is most to be taken notice of, is, that you say here and in several other places, that the Nonconformists had “nothing of sin” “to object against those things from which they dissented.” I have heard to the contrary, that they did in eight, if not ten several instances, but it is not my business to enumerate either for them or you. Only I admire, I confess, that upon such an occasion they could not in any one thing be gratified, not so much as in forbearing the lessons of the Apocrypha. Inſomuch that, as many remember very well, after a long tug at the Convocation house about that matter, a good Doctor came out at laſt with great exultation, that “they had carried it for Bel and the Dragon.”

I cannot omit what it ſeems you thought neceſſary to be ſaid in defence of your cauſe, that “none are better qualified for ſtate affairs than church men, and none have acquitted themſelves with greater art and ſucceſs, and that things have rarely miſcarried, but when their counſels have not been effectually followed (as you ſhall ſhew alſo in the caſes of Cardinal Granvill and Archbiſhop Laud.)” Alas! what needed you to have gone ſo far about, when your own caſe all along, and even this your Reproof and this parallel, are ſo pregnant a demonſtration of their abilities?

lities? And you acquit your promise, where you say, "that
 " the wise and resolute ministry of Granvell was rendered
 " not only successful but odious to the people. For as he
 " was a man of extraordinary wisdom, courage, and fide-
 " lity, that sincerely pursued his master's interest, faithfully
 " executed his commands, and kept up the height of his
 " authority; so being an implacable divine he saw to the
 " bottom of the projects that were carried on by the dis-
 " contented lords, and foresaw the tendency of factions in
 " religion to disorders and seditions in the state." I shall
 not suppose any one who reads this book to have so little
 conversed with the modern history, as not to gather hence
 how ready you are to make good your word to the lady
 whom I mentioned, as to your religion. But I have not
 yet heard of any Protestant, beside yourself and the re-
 corder of London, who hath of late years so publicly
 avowed the inquisition, of which that Cardinal Granvell
 was the chief patron and instrument. And instead of that
 honourable character you give him, I shall refer you to
 Grotius, whom I chuse always to ply you with above all other
 authors. " The government of the Netherlands was in ap-
 " pearance in Margaret, but in effect, and as to the power,
 " was only in Granvell, in whom industry, vigilance, ambi-
 " tion, luxury, and avarice, and all manner indeed of good
 " and evil were remarkably visible, &c." And therefore it
 is not the greatest instance of your prudence (whatsoever
 you

you thought in your meer conscience) to take this publick liberty of *dogmatizing*, and to pick out that Cardinal (whom I never thought of) to be the precedent and parallel of Archbishop Laud's administration.

I should after this do you injury, did I not take notice that whereas in your Preface to Bishop Bramhall, in the fifth leaf before you conclude, I told you that you spoke scandalously and with leering reflexion upon the government and ministers of state, you try with the best of your skill to return it upon me. But so unfortunately, that, as alwayes, you sink deeper and quag yourself in your Roman Empire. "Were it possible," say you (and I abhor to hear you) "that his Majesty should degenerate from the goodness of his nature, as much as they say Nero did," and again, "These are the Sejanus's that you described *." It will not serve your turn, this evasion. 'Tis like mine host in France, that when he swore *je renie Dieu*, interpreted it of the *Dieu Bacchus*. You spoke not a word there of Nero or Sejanus, or that could be applyed to either; unless you can give us Nero's Coronation oath, or Sejanus his cases of conscience, or at last instance in that emperour's "being canonized for a Saint and Martyr:" so that for the wit and chronology of the business this too is calculated for the play of Moses and Julius Cæsar. But for the discretion and loyalty of it, you might have long since answered,

as

* Reproof, p. 293.

as for other passages, did either the rabble or the statesmen think you considerable ; whereas indeed they reckon you it seems among that sort of men, who have a privilege to say any thing with impunity. But for the Long Parliament you have indeed an ecclesiastical *non obstante* to say what you will *. I shall only take up at one passage : “ To deal
 “ plainly with you, I have read most of the Long Parliament
 “ speeches over, and, though I know you will chide me
 “ for calling a whole parliament coxcombs, yet it is better
 “ to call them so than worse. Yet this censure I dare pass
 “ upon them, without any suspicion of arrogance within
 “ myself, that they were for the most part no better than
 “ school-boys declamations, &c. all their discourses were
 “ much like yours, and accommodated to people that took
 “ confidence for reason, nonsense for mysteries, and rudeness
 “ for wit.” * Ay, Mr. Bayes, “ they wanted some certain
 “ helps, helps for wit, which you man of art have thought
 “ fit to make use of. Ay, Sir, that’s your position, and
 “ you do here aver, that no man yet the sun ever shone up-
 “ on, has parts sufficient to furnish out a stage, except it
 “ be with the help of your rules.” But I was misinformed
 I perceive, who thought you might have called them all the
 names in the rainbow but coxcombes, and never heard them
 arraigned of *want of wit*, but by your abundance. But
 that you may not think altogether so meanly of them,
 I (though

* Reproof, p. 400.

(though indeed who is the man either in the former or this age that is able to stand or appear before your profound eloquence and piercing judgment) let me refer you, although many others might be cited, to two speeches of the Lord Falklands : the first concerning episcopacy, which begins, "He is a great stranger to Israel, who knows not that this kingdom hath long laboured under many and great oppressions, &c." The second speech was to the Lords, at the delivery of the articles against the Lord Keeper, and begins, "These articles against my Lord Keeper being read, I may be bold to apply, &c." And if you think these worthy of perusal, I shall expect your second opinion concerning the capacity and skill of those gentlemen both in history and oratory. But as for you, when Doctor Heylin's divinity shall go for orthodox, or his prævarications pass for history, you may then, and not before, be reputed a classical author. And all the Canterbury Tales you have told in the Reproof will be Chronicle. There was just such another Italian acquaintance of yours, one Polydore Virgil, who coming into England, was dignified and distinguished like you, being made both a prebend and an archdeacon ; only you are not yet as he was come to be collector of the Peter-pence, but all in good time. This gentleman did too, even as you, oblige this nation with a piece of history, which after he had writ he used a notable invention, which if you would

but imitate and burn all the records of the times you write of, it were the only way imaginable to make you authentic.

As you are officious in your own stories, so you are very inquisitive and critical upon some that I have told you *; and for a great space of your book you run into such froth and growns and taplash of wit, that it deserves compassion. Infomuch that though men may perhaps believe that †, as you yourself affirmed, “you are not valiant,” yet there is some reason to doubt the truth of what you say in the same place, “that you are not miserable.” But you are more particularly concerned to know who that Queen was, and of what country, that gave so ridiculous a town seal ‡. For wheresoever you can suspect any thing smutty underneath, you are wonderful curious to be thorowly informed. But I have already gratified you in pork, and am not bound to nauseate the reader to comply with your ignorance. I will tell you who that tyrant was that demanded so many bushels of fleas || : It was John Basiliwich the great Duke of Muscovy, and it was of the citizens of Muskow that he required it, fining them for non-payment. But as for this Queen, it shall for certain reasons of state be a secret. Only, not to leave you wholly in the dark, if you please to speak with your fellow-chaplain of the copper mines, he

* Reproof, p. 401.

† Cens. Plat. Phil. p. 15.

‡ Reproof, p. 503.

|| Ibid.

will inform you, for it is in that kingdom. And if he do not satisfie you, if you please to resort to me, I will shew you the medal of the city, with that device upon the reverse of it.

'Tis more than time that I left scumming you, for I perceive 'tis all the same stuff: and, should I continue, I should leave you nothing in the bottom; therefore I shall only take notice of two things more very remarkable. The one is concerning the quotation out of St. Austin, which I speak of from p. 209 to p. 214 of my former book: *Signa quum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur*. You had said, you would lay odds there was no such saying in St. Austin; and now, because your answerer had said *sunt Sacramenta*, instead of *Sacramenta appellantur* (which therefore you note in him as “a boldness with the text for his “own convenience, and an improvement beyond modesty”) you think you are safe. But, good Mr. Bayes, whether or no doth an Archdeacon *pertinere ad res divinas*? And pray tell me what is the difference betwixt saying that you are an Archdeacon, or you are called an Archdeacon? But because I wondered you could not find it, when I myself had met with it, *Ep. 5ta ad Marcellinum*; you say, “you will not “laugh at me; no, for I rather deserve to be scourged for “so gross and impudent a falsehood: whereas (as fortune “would have it) the fourth is the last Epistle to Marcellinus

“ that St. Austin ever writ, and if you had searched after a
 “ fifth Epistle to him, you might have pored till the day of
 “ judgment.” Let all ingenuous men judge this matter. I
 quoted it only in the order of the Epistles, where the first
 to Marcellinus is the fifth Epistle. You say it should have
 been thus set down by me, *ad Marcellinum, Epistola quinta* :
 and that I quote it *Ep. quinta ad Marcellinum*. I do not,
 but thus, *Ep. 5ta ad Marcellinum*. Mind first how falsely
 you have transcribed my quotation to fit it to your own
 turn ; and then observe too upon what a frivolous and mis-
 taken ground, and about how slight a matter, you molest
 the reader : for, besides what is here, there runs a repetition
 of this matter of Marcellinus, and others of less consequence,
 through the whole Reproof. But, Mr. Bayes, this business
 is not yet ended thus : I will save your *poring till the day of*
judgment, and help you to a fifth Epistle of St. Austin too
 to Marcellinus. Take the edition *Lugduni, Anno 1561*.
 And, whereas you say that “ (as fortune would have it) St.
 “ Austin never writ but four Epistles to Marcellinus ;” this
 is but your usual misfortune, to hamper yourself worse, when
 you would dis-intangle your own errors. For his 5th,
 7th, 158th, and 159th, are his four Epistles to Marcellinus.
 But you will find there, p. 1080, a 222d Epistle, which is a
 fifth to the same person. It is noted so all along in the head
 of the pages, and the contents of it express before it begins :
Longa & docta est hæc Epistola, tractans de Baptismo parvu-
3 T 2
lorum

lorum contra Pelagium. (Because it was against Pelagius, could you not, or might you not see it?) *Quem tamen clementer in hac Epistola tractat.* *Hæc per exemplaris vetustatem difficulter legi potuit, propter quod in aliquibus obscura est* (but not so obscure but you might have discerned it.) You say, you find none of the *Nonconformists dirty thumb nails in your patron's library* *. But have not you, nor your poor leaf-turners liberty to peruse the volumes? Or, is there a peculiar reverence due to the books in that place, that no man does, or may touch them? Or have you lost all your credit too, *apud Jo. Shirley, in parva Britannia*, and is the *Pelican* grown hard-hearted? Could you but have reckoned your five fingers, you had not mistaken. But this proceeds from your bragging of books (so usual with you) which you have not the patience to read over, no more than your own; or having cast your eye on the *index*, you imagine you have read the author; for indeed here the *index* points but at four Epistles, but the *pollex* would have made them five.

† The other passage of yours, and last which I purpose to recommend to the reader, is indeed accompanied with many extraordinary circumstances. It is not that wherein you accuse your answerer to have given their degrees to Oliver and Ireton at Oxford, though it is notoriously known that it was a Bishop yet living, who performed that ceremony. That is an untruth too slender to be taken notice of in a
book

* Reproof, p. 195.

† Idem, from p. 422 to p. 426.

Book so pregnant as the Reproof. But it is the whole hinge, it seems, whereupon your design of writing has turned. For upon occasion of a certain *Declaration published*, as you inform, *after the Cheshire insurrection*, which you affirm to have been subscribed by your answerer, and which you have kept in deck until this season ; you pretend that you have dealt *so roundly*, as you call it, with him and the party, and me too. Happy had it been for me that you had once understood how to speak truth. For had you not writ *so roundly*, I had never intermeddled in these matters, and so the Reproof too had been spared. However I have gained hereby so much learning as to know what is the figure of falshood. It seems 'tis circular, and in your phrase, to speak *roundly*; and you have stretched it so till it is *unhoopable*. But I therefore shall answer you square. It is known, and ready to be proved by thousands, that the Declaration mentioned was not writ by your answerer, nor any of his party, but by the Fifth-monarchy men ; and its effect vented itself in that wild insurrection of Venner. You yourself, although you were not of so high a dispensation, yet were at that time of age sufficient, and stirring enough in your little sphere to have understood it rightly. But it is a grievous thing to forego a falshood that is serviceable to the great design ; and the "ends of your publick government will "at last excuse, if not hallow," the most orbicular untruth. Hence it was that you were so forward to publish that book

of "Baxter baptized in Blood." And hence now it is that, as your last reserve of slander and malice, as you had essayed in the Preface to Bishop Bramhall, you throw this upon the body of the Nonconformists, upon me too, and your answerer. Yet neither is this Declaration so mad as that which you have penned, p. 64, 65, 66, of your Reproof, in the stile and name of his Majesty, with a boldness of which I think no age can bring a parallel. But seeing neither that of Baxter, nor this attempt upon your answerer and the party, has had that bad effect which probably you had proposed, I shall not aggravate it further; but appeal to all men, whether the world be well used, when such railing books, grounded upon voluntary and suborned suggestion and forgery, shall by publick license invade mens quiet, and disturb their modesty, and stir up a tumult of writing; and yet, if any man shall but open his mouth to the contrary, and in defence of common ingenuity, the same person that invented or licensed the falsehood, shall have the priviledge likewise to prohibit the truth and the discovery. Only, Mr. Bayes, forasmuch as you do here avow, that it was upon this occasion that you called for *signal marks, acknowledgments, recantations*, &c. and seeing this occasion chances to be no occasion, pray learn henceforward to be something more deliberate in your railing against the Nonconformists. Perhaps, if you would use your incomparable *suada*, and move them to repentance in a theological and Christian language, they might

" be

be prevailed with. For truly it does besit all that have been accessory to the late mischiefs and crimes, to walk with great innocence and modesty, though after the state has set them right, the church cannot of right, as you would have it, demand another allegiance. But to think that railing will do the work, or for men to hear themselves called *traytors*, *villains*, *schismaticks*, *hereticks*, and to have all mankind preached and harangued up to extirpate them, for meer Non-conformity; and this by such a person as you (which makes their suffering more infamous and odious to them) and for you to perswade them that all is wholesome for them and the good of their souls, and that therefore they should recant in your hands, it is just as if Rabshakeh should pretend, when he threatened the men of Jerusalem they should drink their own pifs, that he prescribed them a remedy for the scurvy. Pray do but try a little, Mr. Bayes, for experiment how you yourself could away with this recanting; if you were to disgorge all you had swallowed, and swallow all you had disgorged, it would make you, I trow, look very simply, and cast you into a fit worse than of the *miserere*, or the iliac passion. Were you to recant all your false doctrines, all your profanations of Scripture, all your Bear-garden and Billingsgate railing and scolding; nay, were you to recant (and in good conscience you ought to refund) for your estate got by plunder and sequestration, and high-court of justice. Were you to recant for all the circles, semi-circles, complements;
and.

and segments in the Reproof. Were you but to refund to your bookfeller, for all those books that you were fain to give away to disperse them, and for that mutual *gratification* which you were not ashamed, notwithstanding all your dignities, to pillage him of before he could pay his printer: I doubt the least of these would come off with an ill grace, and 'twould go very hard and awkwardly with you. But, because this may be too severe, you have here solemnly “ protested that if your answerer can convict you of any one “ forgery, it shall not suffice to ask him forgiveness upon “ your knees, but you will make him a publick recantation.” This thing of the Declarations, that it was subscribed by your answerer, is a notorious and convict forgery. Therefore do but now go to him, and kneel down on your knees, and ask his blessing, and make but a private recantation, and I will say you are so far an honest man.

And now being so near a period, I cannot but gratulate my good fortune, rather than my wisdom, that I have travelled such an author through with no more extravagancy: 'Tis some kind of deliverance to have found my way so well when I was to follow an *ignis fatuus*. Had he thought fit to make use of my admonition, there had been no occasion for this intercourse. But seeing he has chosen it, I hope there are few persons of candor who need strain their invention to supply my excuse; it being more easie to justify to others, than to delight myself with this kind of writing. And
among

among the most eminent, I hope my Lord Archbishop will not (if this be the man I take him for) misinterpret me. But that as he was once pleased to “thank me, and acknowledge that I had done good service to the church” in detecting to him another Doctor so effectually, that he voluntarily subscribed never to come more within any pulpit, although he is since *punished* with a living of three hundred pounds a year : so now his Grace will not take it ill that I have also discovered this man to him, the tenure of whose divinity is *per saltum, sufflum, & pettum*; and whose purse and conscience, being linked with the same tyes, do make together the perfect character of an, &c.

What remains, Mr. Bayes, is to serve in your *bacon*, but because I would do it to the best advantage, I shall add something else for your better and more easie digestion. The first shall be your Ammianus Marcel. whom if you had, as I advised you, bit off at both ends, he could not probably have molested you. But in the 27th book, having described the contention of Damascus and Ursicinus for ecclesiastical pre-eminence, he adds, “These kind of men ought indeed
 “to be most sharply reprehended, who, having obtained
 “what they covet, are secure to be enriched with the offer-
 “ings of the ladies, and rowle about in coaches, curiously
 “drest up, and eat more delicately than princes; whereas
 “they might be truly happy, if neglecting the grandeur

“ and ostentation of the city, which they make an excuse
 “ for their vices, they would imitate, in their manner of
 “ living, such country prelates, who eating and drinking
 “ moderately, cloathing themselves homely, and looking
 “ humbly, recommend themselves thereby to the everlasting
 “ Deity, and those that truly worship him, as modest and
 “ pure persons.” Again, in his 21st book, giving the cha-
 racter of Constantius, among other things he saith that, “ He
 “ did confound the Christian religion, which is a perfect
 “ and plain thing, *rem absolutam & simplicem*, with a gran-
 “ namish and doating superstition, and instead of composing
 “ with gravity the perplexed questions which he excited, he
 “ promoted them further with a strife of words; so that the
 “ prelates trooping it up and down on the publick post-
 “ horses, and canterburing from synod, as they call it, to
 “ synod, whilst they indeavour to draw all rites within their
 “ jurisdiction, there were scarce any horses left to supply
 “ travellers.” If this be for your service, pray make use
 of it.

But lest you should say hereupon that your Ammianus
 was a Socinian, will you admit King James his judgment,
 who, after nineteen years experience, tells the parliament,
 “ That the external government appeared well; learned
 “ judges, settled peace, great plenty, so that it was to be
 “ thought every man might have sat in safety under his own

“ vine and fig-tree ; yet he was ashamed, and it made his
 “ hair to stand upright to consider, how his people have in
 “ this time been vexed and polled by the vile execution of
 “ projects, patents, bills of conformity, and such like ;
 “ which, beside the trouble of his people, have more ex-
 “ hausted their purses than subsidies would have done.” You
 see that a bill of conformity (though it made not, in the
 phrase of your preface, an archangel stare, yet it) made a
 king’s hair stand an end.

But lest you should say King James was an Arminian, I
 shall now bring in my Lord Verulam, whom you cannot re-
 fuse, having so often called for him. And I the rather
 quote him because a wise man is as it were eternal upon
 earth ; and he speaks so judiciously and impartially, that
 it seems as if these very times which we now live in had
 been in his present prospect. There are two short treatises
 of these matters ; one begins p. 129, the other p. 180, of
 his *Resuscitatio*. Pray, Mr. Bayes, let us both listen, for
 I assure you, before he has done, he will tell us many a
 wiser thing than is to be met with either in Ecclesiastical
 Politie or Rehearsal. “ The controversies themselves (saith
 “ he) I will not enter into, as judging that the disease re-
 “ quires rather rest than any other cure. Neither are they
 “ concerning the great parts of the worship of God, of
 “ which it is true, *non servata unitas in credendo nisi ea-*

“ *dem fit in colendo.* Not as betwixt the East and West
 “ Church, about images, or between us and the church of
 “ Rome about the adoration of the sacrament, &c. but
 “ we contend about ceremonies, and things indifferent,
 “ about the extern policy and government of the church.
 “ And as to these we ought to remember that the ancient
 “ and true bounds of unity are, one faith, one baptism,
 “ and not one ceremony or policy. *Differentiæ rituum*
 “ *commendant unitatem doctrinæ*, the diversities of ceremo-
 “ nies do set forth the unity of doctrine; and *habet religio*
 “ *quæ sunt æternitatis, habet quæ sunt temporis*; Religion
 “ hath parts which belong to eternity, and parts which
 “ pertain to time. If we did but know the virtue of si-
 “ lence and slowness to speak, commended by St. James,
 “ and would leave the overweening and turbulent humours
 “ of these times, and revive the blessed proceedings of the
 “ Apostles and Primitive Fathers, which was in the like
 “ cases, not to enter into assertions and positions, but to
 “ deliver counsels and advices, we should need no other re-
 “ medy at all, ‘ Brother, there is reverence due to your
 “ counsel, but faith is not due to your affirmation.’ St.
 “ Paul was content to say, *I and not the Lord*, but now
 “ men lightly say, *not I but the Lord*, nay and bind it with
 “ an heavy denunciation of his judgments to terrifie the
 “ simple, whereas faith that wise man, *the causeless curse shall*
 “ *not come*: the remedies are first that there were an end
 “ made

“ made of this immodest and deformed manner of writing
 “ lately entertained, whereby matter of religion is handled
 “ in the stile of the stage. But to leave all reverence and
 “ religious compassion toward evils, or indignation toward
 “ faults, and to turn religion into a comedy or satyre, to
 “ search and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance,
 “ to intermix Scripture and scurrility sometimes in one sen-
 “ tence, is a thing far from the devout reverence of a Chris-
 “ tian, and scant befitting the honest regard of a sober
 “ man. Two principal causes have I ever known of
 “ Atheism; curious controversie, and profane scoffing.
 “ Now that these two are joyned in one, no doubt that sect
 “ will make no small progression. Job, speaking of the
 “ majesty and gravity of a judge, saith, ‘if I did smile
 “ they believed it not:’ that is, if I glanced upon conceit
 “ of mirth, yet mens minds were so possessed with the re-
 “ verence of the action in hand, as they could not receive
 “ it. Much more ought not this to be among bishops
 “ and divines, disputing about holy things. Truly as I
 “ marvel that some of those preachers which call for refor-
 “ mation (whom I am far from wronging so far as to joyn
 “ them with these scoffers) do not publish some declaration in
 “ dislike that their cause should be thus solicited; so I hope
 “ assuredly that my lords of the clergy have no intelligence
 “ with this interlibelling, but do altogether disallow that
 “ their cause should be thus defended. For though I ob-
 “ serve

“ serve in one of them many glosses, whereby the man
 “ would insinuate himself into their favours, yet I find it
 “ to be ordinary that many pressing and fawning persons do
 “ misconjecture of the humour of men in authority, and
 “ many times seek to gratifie them with that which they
 “ most dislike. Nevertheless, I note that there is not an
 “ indifferent hand carried to these pamphlets as they deserve:
 “ for the one sort fly in the dark, and the other is uttered
 “ openly. Next I find certain indiscreet and dangerous
 “ amplifications as if the civil government, &c.” For it
 is impossible to omit any thing in those excellent discourses,
 without apparent injury to their author, and to the reader.
 And that which makes them more pertinent is, that he does
 not spare neither the Nonconformists, but gives them too
 their just charge; for neither then certainly, nor now,
 are they to be excused: though the unequal dealing used
 towards them doth justifie them the more, and hath not
 allowed place or leisure in this book for me to particularize
 their failings.

But lest you should except against my Lord Bacon, as a
 layman, “ not competent to judge of these ecclesiastical
 “ matters in comparison with the clergy, and who was but,
 “ as far as the prejudice of the age he lived in would permit
 “ him, an acute philosopher;” what say you to Doctor
 Stillingfleet in the Preface to his *Irenicon* from beginning to
 end?

end? And in the book itself from p. 117 to 123? I have made scruple to disguise the discourses of him and others, as some practise, to make them pass for mine own: and to quote them at length were unnecessary, being so easily found in the author. But here in few pages you may find all that you have said with so many years labour, totally ruined.

But lest you should reject Dr. Stillingfleet, as a Papist, may Bishop Usher, Dr. Hammond, Bishop Taylor, Chillingworth be allowed of? I have them all ready at hand for you. But they are all I doubt *suspectæ fidei*, and you will believe none but yourself. This is that which hath seduced you, and, because you preached over your notes of Ecclesiastical Politie in a private congregation, without being interrupted, you imagined the whole world had been of that mind, and 'twould pass for œcumenical doctrine; whereas I despair not of seeing yet by God's goodness and the influence of his Majesty, upon the prudence and moderation of my lords the bishops, that if you still persist in your mischievous undertaking, you shall be but Simon Magus his fickle, to mow the whole field without any hand to manage it. It was in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth, after the long experiment of her reign, that my Lord Verulam writ his first discourse I quoted, and his second at the coming in of King James, as Dr. Stillingfleet's at the restoration of his Majesty now reigning. But still is at
the

the beginning of the reigns of our princes, the proper seasons of redressing these ecclesiastical matters, and of taking firm measures for their future government; some rub has been interposed unhappily that has thrown all off the bias and so lost the cast. Who is there that ever reads the Scriptures, unless he put on ecclesiastical spectacles, (and those too have a fly ingraven upon them) but sees plainly what tenderness is due unto the scruples of Christians; that our Saviour hath taken conscience into his immediate protection, and how conformable the Apostles were to his rule therein, both as to doctrine and practice? What Englishman, reflecting seriously, but must think it hard that a man may be a Christian in Turkey upon better conditions? That the French, Dutch, and the Walloons, even at Canterbury, may serve God here more freely than our own natives? That it shall be a privilege among us to be an alien, while an home-born subject must pay the double-duty (nay forfeit his whole estate) for the Protestant religion? What Christian can conceive how a man should lose his right to the sacraments for dissenting from the ceremonies? I think I objected that to you once, but you have never designed, as far as I can observe, once to answer it. But who especially that as a wise man weighs what it is to impose things unnecessary upon people obedient to all other laws, can advise the continuance of such counsels? For a prince to adventure all upon it, is like Duke Charles of Burgundy, that

fought

fought three battels for an imposition upon sheep-skins. For a clergyman to offer at persecution upon this ceremonial account, is (as is related of one of the popes) to justify his indignation for his peacock, by the example of God's anger for eating the forbidden fruit. But in you, Mr. Bayes, who are I know not well what, I look upon it as an effect of your madness, and only the "staring of an arch-deacon."

You say, "that most" wise men "were of opinion you should not answer me, only desire the world to compare it with your discourses : yet others *" ('tis uncivilly said both as to yourself and them) overpowred "you to this reply, "against the bent of your own inclinations." What *others* was it? Was the devil in you? Or were there "certain "tyes upon you," as Bayes saith, "that you could not be "disengaged from? and you writ for the sake of some ingenious persons and choice female spirits, that have a "value for you? otherwise you would see them all hanged "before you would ever more set pen to paper †." If I might advise you, Mr. Bayes, do so no more : for "I verily believe you have writ a whole cart load of things, every "whit as good as this, and yet the insolent rascalls turn "them all back upon your hands again ‡." But do as you please, I have not paid you the tythe of what I owe you,

* Reproof, p. 527.

† Rehearsal Comedy, p. 8.

‡ Idem, p. 15.

but it lyes ready for you, when you please to send for it. You are a blatant writer and a latrant ; and for lesser crimes though of the same nature, was Gnevoisky, the Polander, sentenced to lye barking underneath the table. You put me in mind of the Hollanders in Batavia, who, having spent their other ammunition, charged with excrements ; the purity of the savage Javaes could not abide it, but there-upon yielded them the victory : neither does it become me to contend for it.

I will conclude in a short story, and more seasonable, because, as your Reproof, it happened once at a wedding. Wenceslaus, the emperour, married the duke of Bavaria's daughter* ; the duke, knowing the emperour's delights, brought along with him a cart full of jugling conjurers, who playing their tricks, Zytho, that was Wenceslaus his magician, *accedens propius artificem Bavarum cum omni apparatu protinus devorat (ore ad aures debiscente) calceos duntaxat, qui luto obsiti videbantur, expuens : secessumq; inde petens, ventrem insolita esca gravem in solium aqua plenum exonerat, præstigiatoresq; adhuc madidum spectatoribus restituit, passim deridendum, adeo ut cæteri quoque ejus socii a ludo abstinerent.* Whether I shall have the like success I know not (for truly our sport is much like it, and unfit for serious spectators.) However I have spit out your dirty shoon.

* Del. Rio. Mag. p. 317.

A
SEASONABLE QUESTION,
AND AN
USEFULL ANSWER;

CONTAINED IN

An Exchange of a Letter between a Parliament-Man in CORNWELL,

AND

A Bench-er of the TEMPLE, LONDON.

By ANDREW MARVELL.

Printed in the Year MDCLXXVI.

A
SEASONABLE QUESTION,
AND AN
USEFUL ANSWER.

S I R,

I Am in the dark, and you must be my guide : I am summoned by proclamation to meet in Parliament next month ; and 'tis said here, that the Parliament hath been so long kicked up and down by prorogation until it is lost : they say the last prorogation for *fifteen months*, did amount to a dissolution, his Majesty having no power, by the law, to prorogue a Parliament for above a year. They quote two statutes that have enacted, “ That a Parliament shall be holden once every year at least ; and tell us, if we shall now sit, after the year is expired, we must sit only by virtue of that command of the King’s that broke the laws, and thereby we must consent to, and allow

“ of a rightful power in the king, to dispose of parliaments
“ at his will, contrary to the laws : which if granted and
“ established, it dissolves the ancient government of Eng-
“ land, wherein both the lords and the whole people have
“ their shares of right by the laws and not of the king’s
“ grace.” They say, “ as much as we can, we shall yield up
“ to the kings pleasure all the laws, whereby the rights and
“ inheritances of the king and subjects ought to be distin-
“ guished and determined.”

Truly, Sir, these are edged tooles, not to be played with. I would not come two hundred miles to put my neck in a noose. An honest old Cavaliere whispered tother day to me, “ That he supposed this prorogation came from French coun-
“ fels, not only to prevent the parliament from stopping in
“ time the French king’s increase of power at sea and land,
“ but to lead his Majesty in obscure, undiscerned paths to
“ the mount of absolute power. The French knowing too
“ well, that whensoever the English people shall discover
“ their liberties and laws to be invaded, such fires will be
“ kindled as they may run away in the smoak, and we shall
“ not be able to contest with them either the power of sea,
“ or the equality of trade.” But whosoever advised the
prorogation, pray Sir, let me know whether it be a dis-
solution. You may perhaps save me a scurvy winter jour-
ney, and money in my pocket, and I assure you we are all
very

very poor, and I do not expect to be paid for secret service. I know you can resolve this question as well (at least) as my Lord Chancellor. If it be but a doubtful point, I should think I had best stay at home, none but an undoubted parliament being able lawfully to decide the case: his Majesty out of parliament is no competent judge for himself in this point; and if we should declare ourselves to be a parliament legally continued by the prorogation, according to the kings will, though not according to the laws, I should tremble to be assistant in such a sad doom of England, that the meeting of our parliament, and the benefit of our laws, are of the king's grace, and not of right to be enjoyed, only when, and as he pleaseth. Neither should I think such a resolution to be of any authority, because we should be parties, and judges, and give sentence to continue ourselves in power.

You must not, Sir, deny me your whole thoughts of this great affair. I have come to parliament twice or thrice, to provide against the multitude of mischiefs and grievances that threaten our ruine, but did but verifie the proverb, "That I came ninescore miles to fuck a bull." You know we have not been suffered to do any thing of moment for several sessions; but I shall fool myself more, if I should now come two hundred miles to sit gravely, and prepare myself for the gallows, whensoever the subjects shall demand right against us, or the crown shall descend to any
whose

whose interest shall lead him to call in question what we shall do.

You know, Sir, you and I were confessors of old under his Majesties father, and narrowly escaped being martyred for the Protestant religion, the laws of the land, and the priviledges of parliaments, as we believed. We carried as many of those declarations in our pockets, as we had shillings of his coynage, whilst we fought under his banner; and should not I (Sir) be an impudent knave, if I should now come and sit in parliament, to declare, that his Majesty may of right take away from his subjects the benefit of their principle fundamental laws, about their meeting in parliament, when and as long as he pleaseth, and if he will never suffer a parliament to sit to claim one of the priviledges we swore to maintain? I long for your opinion (Sir) upon the whole matter. I would neither disobey any lawful command of his Majesty, nor diminish the just English regall power. I would not crop a leaf of any flower of the crown, yet I make as much conscience not to betray my country, or easily yield up the ancient lawes and government of England, by parliament, to the king's will, to make English freemen tenants at will to the king, of their laws, their parliaments, their liberties and lives. I am resolved to be an honest man, and thy faithful friend and hearty servant.

THE

THE BENCHER'S ANSWER.

S I R,

YOU demand my opinion in a question of the greatest moment that ever was moved since England was established under civil government: the absolute ruin for our age or the safety of all the ancient English liberties and excellent laws depend upon the right resolving your question, “Whether this parliament be actually dissolved by the last prorogation for fifteen months?” He that will clearly answer you, ought first to consider whether a prorogation ordered and continued beyond a year, can be made to agree with our lawes and statutes concerning holding of parliaments (which, by the way, are the birth-right of Englishmen.) It seemes you have been told of two statutes which enact, “That a parliament shall be holden every year;” doubtless they intended those printed statutes of the 4th of Ed. III. cap. 14. and that of the 36 Ed. III. cap. 10. where it is enacted, “that for maintenance of the statutes, and redress of divers mischiefs and grievances which dayly happen, a parliament shall be holden every year, as an other time was ordayned.” These are most taken notice of because they are printed, and were re-inforced by that notable act of the 16th of the late King, which provided effectually for the summoning and electing a parliament every three years,

without the King's concurrent assent, if he neglected or refused two years together to summon a parliament, according to those statutes of Edward III. And although this parliament hath repealed that statute, and taken from the people that excellent meanes to secure their right of parliaments, yet they have left us to the force of the antient laws in the case; and in the same act of repeale, 16 Car. II. they have declared and acknowledged those lawes of Ed. III. to be still the lawes and statutes of this realm: and they have enacted no clause or article that derogates from them, or abates their force. Those latter clauses of that act which seem to be enacting, being (as my brethren of the robe speak) nugatory and insignificant, only praying the King not to intermit the holding of parliaments above three years at the most, but to call them as often as there shall be occasion, which in plainer English is an humble motion that he would not neglect his duty to put the laws in execution longer than two years, but that he would call parliaments as oft as occasion did require, and that act was to commence from the end of this parliament. Whatever was intended by that act, it doth neither weaken the force of those two antient printed statutes, nor of any other unprinted, for annual parliaments, this act being only affirmative and consistent with the other. And I ought to tell you that there are four more at least to the same purpose. That of the 1 Ric. II. number 95, in the Rolls, relates to the jurisdictional power

power of parliaments, which is often very necessary, as well as the legislative. It enacts, "That a parliament be yearly holden to redress delays in suites, and to end such cases as the judges doubt;" the 5th of Ed. II. number 9 and 13, and the 2d Ric. I. II. number 73, and in the 50th Ed. III. number 177. In the parliament called *The Good Parliament*, the same thing was enacted and confirmed; and in the opening the parliament in the 2d Ric. II. number 4, the Lord Chancellor, in shewing the causes of calling that parliament, gives for the second reason of it, "That it was enacted that a parliament should be yearly holden." And the message sent from the parliament to the King in the 9th Ric. II. by the Duke of Gloster, tells that King, That one "old statute and laudable custom is approved, which no man can deny, that the King once in a year do summon his High Court of parliament, there to consult with the wise men;" and so you may read in Grafton, p. 3, 48. It seems the course of holding yearly parliaments then, passed not only for statute law, wherein that King's ancestors had joyned with his kingdom to ordain it, but as the most undoubted custom of England, that is, the common law declared in and by the statutes, they claiming it as their most unquestionable inheritance, being the only root of all their liberties and properties, and the only politick meanes of their defence and safeguard, and no doubt our ancestors had reason sufficient to claime their yearly parliaments, as the

custom or common law of England, seeing no antiquary nor record can shew the original of that usuage, having its beginning with the government itself. Certain times for parliament meeting are in truth of the essence of the English government: parliaments were the first appointers or creators of all other offices, jurisdictions, powers and prerogatives in the government. Don Wallo, writing of the British lawes, tells us of parliaments annual or oftner amongst them above four hundred years before Christ. And the Mirror of Justice tells us, that King Alfred ordained it for a perpetual usuage, "That twice in the year, or oftener, they should assemble in London to treat in parliament of the government of the people." So it was in the Saxons time, and continued in the Normans, being admitted by Duke William, called the Conquerour, as the custom of England, as appears by that antient treatise called, *Modus antiquus tenendo Parliamenti*. And after great contest between the King of that race and the people, it was settled by statutes often renewed, "That parliaments should be yearly," as the statutes shew.

Upon the whole, I think it beyond dispute, that by the laws and statutes of our realm, "a parliament ought to be holden every year:" and surely it is as certain, that the last prorogation beyond a year, being persisted in by the King till the year is past over, did prevent and defeat the

the execution of those laws, and is in direct opposition to them.

The sense of what the Lord Chancellor said to prorogue the parliament, was a plain contradiction to these laws. He tells them, "It was his Majesties will that there should be no Parliament holden for one whole year and some months next following." Then the question will be (if it be any) Whether the King's will and word in the *law*, or his word in the Lord Chancellor's mouth is most potent? The whole kingdom in parliament, and all the books of the law, have alwayes judged the law to be the King's superiour, to judge of the validity of all his grants, orders, commissions, patents under great and little seal; and every court in Westminster-Hall have alwayes thought its authority sufficient to judge his grants under seal, or any thing he hath done, void, if they did not agree with the law. 'Tis a civility and honour that our laws pay to the King, that they will not suppose him to will any thing otherwise than as the laws direct or allow him; and thence it was received as a maxim, *that the King can do no wrong*. Indeed all he does contrary to law, is doing nothing; 'tis to be holden for nothing by *Magna Charta* itself, therefore if the last prorogation do not agree with the laws, it is a meer nullity.

It is worth your remembering, that in the 38th chapter of the *Great Charter* it is ordained, "that no King should
"devise

“ devise or invent any thing to infringe or weaken the liberties and laws. And if either King or subject should seek out any thing against them, it should be of no value, and holden for nought.” If the prorogation were a device or trick sought out to weaken the laws for holding parliaments every year, ’tis judged to be nought, or no prorogation by thirty or forty parliaments, which have confirmed and re-enacted the same Charter.

But I ought to acquaint you that there are great endeavours to support the prorogation, some alledging, with noise enough, “ that many Kings have intermitted parliaments not only for more than a year, but for many years ;” but these seem not to understand the question, which is of the validity in law of what the King hath done to the parliament. ’Tis not now enquired, what remedies there are if Kings shall leave undone what the law and their trust require in calling parliaments ; all the positive exercises of power by the King, may, and ought to be judicially sentenced, and approved for good, if agreeable to the laws, or holden for none, if they be contrary to the law. And this hath been the un-interrupted usage of England in all ages. They have sentenced all his charters, grants, yea, his very pardons, that seem to come so singly from his sovereign power or prerogative ; and the prorogation ought upon the same reason to be tried by the law, and judged void, if so it be by the rules.

rules of the law. . But the King's omission to put the laws in execution in calling parliaments at the times limited by the statutes, or in appointing sufficient guards for the seas, or in issuing out commissions to the judges, or any the like : These, I say, cannot be brought into question judicially, there being no possible relief for the people in such cases, but by supplementary laws to be made in parliament, in case of such omissions, as was done by the parliament 1641. 'Tis well for the people that the law hath provided, that whatever the King shall do contrary to law, shall go for nought ; though they suffer by his neglect, their right and laws remain to them, and such omissions of the King as are before mentioned, have always been esteemed by parliaments and people, failures or breaches of the King's high and sacred trust, and 'tis a pitiful argument to prove that the Kings might of right, or by the laws, omit to do what the law hath trusted to their care, because they have sometimes broke their trust.

His late Majesty in his declaration of the 12th of August, 1642, when the unhappy war began to rage, freely confessed, " That it was upon his prospect of the unhappy state
" of the kingdom, and of the inconveniencies and mischiefs
" that had grown by the long intermission of parliaments,
" and by the parting too much from the known rule of the
" law to an arbitrary power, that induced him to consent
" freely

“freely to that act in 1641, called vulgarly, the Triennial
 “Act, which was in truth for Annual Parliaments, re-in-
 “acting those very acts of Edw. III. before mentioned.
 “He said, he was willing in justice and favour to his sub-
 “jects, to make them reparations for their sufferings they
 “had undergone by him in omitting parliaments.” I remem-
 ber this chiefly to shew, that his late Majesty, when his sub-
 jects were in arms against him, freely acknowledged the
 wrong he had formerly done them, by failing to summon
 parliaments as the law required: and professed that he
 had, the year before, freely and heartily consented to that
 act which re-enacted those ancient laws of Edw. III. which
 are conceived, amongst others, to make the prorogation
 void. Yet I must tell you there are those that affirm all the
 laws for Annual Parliaments to be “musty obsolete statutes,
 “whose strength and life are devoured by time.” But it is
 enough to stop their mouthes, that they have been declared
 by two parliaments within forty years last past, to be the laws
 of our realm, and indeed they are laws of such a nature, as
 cannot be weakened by any neglect of their due execution,
 being declarative of the common law, and a most essential
 part of the constitution of the English government, which
 altogether lives and subsists in and by the certainty of parlia-
 ments meeting. If it were admitted for truth, that neither
 the common-law, nor the statutes did indispensably oblige
 the calling of parliaments, at any certain times, but that
 their

their meetings were only at the wills of the kings, then the kings did no wrong if they commanded the people, as was once done in a kingdom, by proclamation, *never to mention parliaments more*. If these laws be dead of age, the ancient famous *English Liberty* is dead with them, the English must never more claim the name of *a free people*, if they have no share by right in the government of themselves, by their certain rightful times of parliaments. But my Lord Cook, part 1. of *Instit.* pag. 81. concludes rightly, "That no act of parliament can lose its force, or be antiquated by *non user*, unless the reason of it fail, and the use of it is impossible, and by change of time becomes a publick mischief; but not those especially which are made to bind the kings themselves for the common good, for such are the laws for parliaments." Yet he that observes in our English law books and histories in the time of King John, Hen. VIII. Ed. I. and Ed. II. how the nobles and freeholders claimed their right by the common law to meet in parliament before these statutes were made, and how often they compelled their kings, (I do not say how lawful such compulsion was) when need required, to call parliaments; and if he observes also how constant these statutes for annual parliaments were executed in many whole kings reigns succeeding each other next after their making; and if he considers how slowly and sily this grand *right* of the peoples was invaded and stolen upon in latter ages, he will have little reason to pre-

tend a *non user* of those statutes : yet if some neglects and defaults have been committed against the laws, it concerns his Majesty in conscience, and the people in interest much more, not to permit it hereafter, lest patient sufferance of the wrong become an argument against the peoples *right*.

Pray, Sir, read the sense of our ancestors upon the kings neglect of executing a law against the Pope, whom they then adored : 'tis the statute of provisors of the 25 of Ed. III. These are the words, “ the king seeing the damages
“ and mischiefs before mentioned, and having regard to the
“ said statute, &c. which statute holdeth its force, and was
“ never defeated, repealed, nor annulled ; and by so much
“ he is bounden by his oath to cause the same to be kept as
“ the law of the realm, though that, by sufferance and
“ negligence, it hath been sithence attempted to the con-
“ trary.”

Truly, Sir, these seem to be honest, plain, old English words, and if the statutes about parliaments were put in the front or preface, they would sound well from his Majesties mouth in a new statute. But some there are, Sir, who find softer cushions in a parliament seat than you do, who, to avoid the nullity of the prorogation, assert, “ That the
“ statutes for yearly parliaments may be dispensed with by
“ the king's sovereign power and prerogative, being” (say they) “ only counsels and advices to the king, and not ob-
“ ligatory.”

This is boldly said if it could be as soundly proved ; it would put all questions between the king and his subjects to everlasting silence ; if he can legally or of right dispence, or absolve himself from all the bonds of the law, for holding parliaments, by whom the lawes are to be maintained, and the highest transgressors punished, he may dispence with the lawes whereby all other courts sit, and then he is loose from all lawes, and nothing of right can be claimed of him by the subject. To dispute with statutes of this nature by the king without limitation of time or other rule than his will, is the same in other words, as to repeale or annull these statutes and revive them again when he pleaseth ; and that is to assume to the crown, singly, the legislative power, which consists as much in annulling as in making lawes. And if that be the kings rightful power, then all the laws are absolutely dependant upon the will of the king. I have read that an attempt of the same kind was made by King Rich. II. in setting up a phantatick opinion (as the parliament then called it) saying, that the lawes of the realm were in his head and in his breast ; but it cost the people very dear, both in blood and treasure, to confute it : and the poor king lost his crown and life for that fancy. I will not trouble you or myself with the common (yet dangerous) doctrine of my tribe, about the king's power to dispence with penall lawes, by his *non obstante* ; I am only to inquire in this case, what dispensing power the king hath, over the statutes made and declared only to bind and limit the kings themselves, in

the execution of their trust about the government ; such as are in their prime true intent, sacred pacts, or arguments between the king and people, though in honour to the king, there could not be added to them the sanction of a penalty upon the king judicially. These statutes that I now discourse of, are the foundations of our government, and declarative only, shewing what our government is, that is, by king and parliament, and how far the crown is trusted with the power of calling parliaments ; that is, as often as there should be occasion within every year, and not otherwise. Our government was never originally founded upon such ridiculous folly by our wise ancestors, as to intend themselves to be a *free people*, to make and alter their own lawes, for their government with their kings, and he to call them to parliament to that intent, and to leave it absolutely to the king's will, even lawfully, or of right by their fundamental laws, to defeat their meeting in parliament for ever. If our government were so founded, and doth so continue, our English crown is of right, or by law, in no kind restrained, limited or bounded in the exercise of the regal power unless it please, and if the kings shall condescend to consult with parliaments, and agree to some statutes to limit themselves, there is no more done than was by the men of Gotham, that made a hedge for the cockows.

These reasons, Sir, are not urged to shew any defects in our government, which may or ought to be amended, but
to

to prove, that our government was founded upon such certain laws and customs, that the kings never had absolute power, but that the power of parliaments, and their certain meetings, were of right, and as much a part of our government as the kings themselves. And I think it self-evident from the nature and manner of the English government, owned in all ages, to be qualified by laws, binding both king and people, that the king cannot more dispence with the laws which limit the times wherein parliaments ought to be holden, than with the laws that preserve our lives and estates from being subject to his will. Parliaments are of the essence of our government, and must have the times of their assembling indispenfible; and if it be not of right by law, that they are to be held within certain circles of time, as custom and law have appointed, then there is no necessity in law that they should be held at any time if the king please, and by consequence, they are none of the essentials of our government, but the government may be without them. If the kings may of right dispence with the times appointed for holding parliaments, they may break all the bonds of other laws, no other power daring to question them, all but parliaments deriving their power from them. Charles the Seventh, and Lewis the Eleventh of France, first subverted the liberty of the French, and all their antient customs and laws, by usurping that pretended prerogative, of dispensing with the certain times of the meetings of their assembly.

assembly of estates ; by that means they suffered them to meet very seldom, and their immediate successors proceeded to arrogate to themselves more power over those assemblies, untill they have in fact (perhaps not in right) abolished almost the memory of them, and reduced the people to a miserable slavery, the people having no other fence of their liberty. Dear Sir, to deal plainly, I believe the opinion that the king might dispence with parliaments meeting notwithstanding the statutes, or prorogue them as long as he pleaseth, is built upon that gross vulgar error, “ That parliaments are the creatures of the kings will, because they are summoned by his writs, and dissolved also “ when he thinks fit.”

I wish our government were better understood both by our lords and commons ; they ought to know that the writts of summons for a parliament once a year, are to be issued by the king in obedience to the laws, and if there be occasion for calling them oftener, the writts issue in performance of the kings trust and oath, to remove by parliaments the mischiefs that afflict the people.

The statute of provisors 25 Edw. III. speaks this plainly, *viz.* “ The commons pray the king, that sith the right of “ the crown of England, and the law of the said realm is “ such that upon the mischiefs and dammages which hap- “ pen to his realm, he ought and is bound by his oath, with “ the

“ the accord of his people in parliament, thereof to make remedy and law.” This king and people agreed, that it was the English constitution, and kings duty to call parliaments as the lawes required; and if any mischiefs happened, he was bound by his oath then to call them and to joyne in accord with them to remove the mischiefs and dammages before they were dissolved; else by the declaration in this law he saved not his oath by calling them. And as the law binds the king upon oath, to send out the summons for parliaments, so it provides the very form of the writ which must be sent; the king must summon them in no other form than the law hath appointed. The law hath not trusted the king to adde to, leave out, or alter one word in the writ of summons; an act of parliament only can vary one tittle of it. The law hath also prescribed to parliaments their business in general, which are the matters that concern the king, the state, and the defence of the realm. These are words so large, that there seems to be nothing that concerns the welfare of king or people, which doth not fall under their consultations. But, pray Sir observe, that it is not the kings will that impowers your brethren; that is no more than a command of the law by the king, *ex officio*, that the people do impower such as they elect; they are to authorize them as the writ declares, to do and consent to what shall by the common council of the kingdom be then ordained; *ita quod* (saith the writ) *pro defectu potestatis*

testatis hujusmodi, &c. So that for want of such power, the foresaid business may not remain undone. The parliament derives not any power from his Majesty, but from the first root of government, the peoples choyce, according to the laws; for that reason, indentures are, and ought to be sealed between the people and the elected, and then they are immediately invested with a share of the legislative power, for that time, which is the greatest and highest power, and therefore in its own nature independent; every estate having share in the legislative power for the proportion it hath therein, hath its independency of the other two and of its proper right, as founded in the fabrick and frame of the policy and government, not derived from the grace of the king by grant or commission. I have said too much I doubt against the power of the king to dispense with the statutes for yearly parliaments, and yet I must adde this one thing more: that parliaments are by many statutes, as well as by the common law, our highest court of judicature, before whom come writts of error, and the last appeales in all cases. And that ancient *mirror of justice* tells us that their judicature was intended to hear and determine the complaints of the wrongfull acts of the king, the queen, and their children, and of those persons against whom the subjects otherwise could not have common justice; now if the king can of right dispence with the certain appointed sitting of this judicature, he can lawfully say the wrongs that I
and

and my great ministers (too big for other courts) shall do to the people, shall never be heard or judged but at my will; their complaints shall not be admitted once in fifty years, nor till domes-day, unless I please.

If our men of the robe will maintain such a dispensing power in the king with the statutes in question, they must say, that the king may by law prevent and defeat the last results of justice, and null the highest court of judicature, founded on the common law, and let them tell me, why he may not, by the same right and reason, dispence with the lawes whereby all the inferior courts of judicature now sit, or adnull the courts themselves, and throw all things into a confused chaos, where the strongest shall injoy every thing. Upon these premises, I may dare to conclude, That the laws for holding a parliament every year, stand firm and immutable, untill an undoubted parliament shall repeale them by some exprefs words, and that the prorogation can never be reconciled to those lawes, or be helped by any power of the king's to dispence with them, but must be judged inconsistent with the lawes, that are of the essence of our government; having actually defeated the execution of them, and therefore ought to be holden for nothing, and the day appointed for your meeting to be no day for that purpose, in the sense of our law.

Supposing then, that I having hitherto rightly concluded, the question will be, Whether the king's dismissal of the

parliament, without any day set for their return, and their continuing so beyond the year, be a dissolution ?

I'll tell you, Sir, the method of my thoughts upon this question, that I might not be couzened with words, nor intangled in trifling disputes about them : I first consider, whether dissolving a parliament were a term of art in our law, and ought to have some peculiar sense gained by the use of it in the law ; but finding it used only in its vulgar sense, I perceived it signified to break off, or put an end to a parliament, and all their business and authority ; so that a dissolution may be made without the King or Lord Chancellor's saying, *you are hereby dissolved* ; the force of the law or custom of England, may put an end to a parliament. Of old, the finishing the business of the people, for which they were called, did dissolve them. See the ancient *modus tenendi Parliamt.* The custom was, that when all the petitions for relief against grievances were dispatched, proclamation was made, demanding if any petition were yet unanswered, and if there was none, the parliament forthwith departed ; this was the natural death or dissolution of a parliament, but if the King did command the Lords and Commons to depart before they had sufficiently consulted about the state and defence of the king and kingdom, and set no day for their return, that was the violent death of a parliament, and I doubt, a violence to the king's conscience.

But it was usual for the kings to dissolve parliaments either by leave or command given them to depart, fixing no day for their return; so testify the antient rolls of the 37th Edw. III. numb. 38, and 38th Edw. III. numb. 31, 40th Edw. III. numb. 16, 45th Edw. III. numb. 13, 50; 'tis by force of law that the writ of summons to parliament abates or becomes void by the king's natural death, and the parliament is thereby dissolved. Upon the same reason a failure of some circumstance, as the naming such a time as the law allowes, to which it is adjourned, the holding and continuing a parliament, if judged necessary by the law, for preserving both the form and substance of the government; I say, such a failure in time onely, may by act of law, dissolve a parliament, even against the will of the king, and if such a failure happens, if the king should step out of the form of the law to revive a parliament, it would alter the whole government by owning a power in the king to vest in such as he please the legislative power out of the form of the law. In making a parliament, the king hath his power from the law to summons, and the form wherein only he can exert that power. And the elected have their power from the people by the writ of the law, what to do and consent to on their behalf at the time and place then mentioned (as the writ says, *tunc* & *ibidem*) and these powers must by the law be strictly and punctually persued, and nothing less than an act of parliament can help any defect or failure in persuance of

these powers ; if the parliament then meet as the law requires, if they fail to be continued in the form of the law, then by the act of law they are dissolved, not being able to create to themselves a day or time which will not agree with the returns to the writ of summons by which their masters impowered them to consent on their behalf. Neither is this a nicety or quirk in law, but a form essentially necessary to preserve our liberties. If the representatives, trusted for the people, to do and consent for them at the time and place mentioned in the lawful writ, after a failure of continuing their trust, as the law directs, proceed to act as a parliament, they must do it without any appointment or power given them from the people, in any form of law, and in the appearance and judgment of the law, without any authority, and if they might do it after failure of a legal continuance one year, they may do it after twenty years ; and because they were once commissioned by the people to represent them in one parliament, they should therefore make themselves lords of the people, and of their laws, lives and liberties for ever ; and admit whom they please (as some have done heretofore) into their society ; and if it should be admitted that any number of men might exercise a share of the legislative power, without evidence in law, upon record, that they were thereunto first sufficiently authorized, and therein legally continued, it would give a fatal stroke to the antient English government, and all its laws and liberties. Sir, from
these

these principles I tell you freely my opinion, That the parliament is dissolved, having been dismissed, or commanded to depart, without a day to return within the time that the laws require a parliament to be holden, and that time also lapsed since their dismissal. I think it not material in the case, what words the Lord Chancellor said when he dismissed them ; ' if he said, *you are prorogued*, or *you are dismissed*, or *you are sent home*, or *you must be gone*, 'tis all one ; I mind what was really done ; you were in substance and sence of the words commanded to dissolve your assembly, and you were told that all the business before you was at an end, as if it had not been ; and that you must not assemble again, or hold parliament for above a year then following ; and you did separate yourselves, and never held parliament within the year, and this, by the act and judgment of the law, hath dissolved you ; there hath been a failure of any such act in law as could continue you in the commission and authority whereunto the people hath chosen you, in the form that the laws hath prescribed : the king declaring, under the name of proroguing you, that all the business you had begun should be void, and that you should not meet in parliament the next ensuing year, as the law required ; I say, that declaration of the king's could not, in any construction of law, be an act of continuance of your power and commission you had from the people, the execution whereof was thereby wholly defeated ; likewise there was no act of your own,
by

by adjournment of your house, to continue you ; and therefore your authority was wholly superseded and discontinued. I know nothing that can be pretended to prevent your discontinuance, but the king's will that you should sit again three months after the year expired ; but his prevention of your sitting for above a year, having contrary to the law and his trust, first discontinued you, his will cannot give, or renew those parliamentary powers that the people gave you in return of the legal writ. The Lord Cooke sayth, 3 *Part. Instit. chap. Parl.* “ If you sit again, you are a several parliament from what you were, (if you be a parliament) “ every distinct session being in law a several parliament.” And your former authorities being ceased by a failure of continuance, you can have none but what the king's will vest in you ; and I need not tell you, that the king cannot chuse for the people their representatives. To me it seems plain, that the king having not continued you, nor you continued yourselves, nor having set or held parliament for above a year, the law hath dissolved you, and judged you for none.

I have not time to write you all the talks of the town upon this question ; some have invented a new fashion prorogation, for the king to prorogue without day, and call the parliament again by proclamation ; but their mouths must be stopped, if they be only told, that such a practise or use of prorogation, hath no foundation in any statute, custome, usage,

usage, or reason of law, and the king cannot change the laws and customes, or introduce new. I take a prorogation, *sine die*, if any such be made, to be as void in law, as a writ of summons of a parliament would be, that named no day for their fitting.

And there can be no pretence of antiquity for such prorogations, the words of adjournment and prorogation having been used indifferently for the same thing about four hundred years, if not more. They were so taken in the state of 13th Edw. IV. numb. 42, and how long after, I cannot find; but it would have been a plain contradiction in termes, to have said, then the parliament is adjourned, *sine die*, that is, it was appointed to meet at another day, without a day. Its a sign that men are sore pinched, when they will assert contradictions rather than submit to truth.

I ought to tell you one thing more that is said in this case; they pretend a precedent, that the king hath prorogued above a year; they say, that in the great plague, in the 7th of Eliz. that parliament was prorogued for a year and three dayes, what then? say they, therefore the king might do it now. Such arguers shew themselves pitiful *logicians*, *lack-learning lawyers*, and *degenerate Englishmen*. Is it a *logical* argument to say, that whatever any king of England hath once or oftener done, may be lawfully done by any other king? An English king, Richard II. by pretence of
royal

royal authority, cut many a worthy man's throat, and murdered his unkle, the Duke of Gloster. Another king, John, sold this kingdom to the Pope. May it therefore be lawfully sold? and have any lawyers learned so little, as not to know that there is no precedent to be alledged against an exprefs statute? or not to know a transgression of a statute even by the king, if silently passed over, and never brought into judgment, is not in the meaning of the law to be called a precedent? There's no use of precedents, unless it be to shew the usage where there is no statute in the case, or to serve the construction of a statute, where the meaning is doubtful; but where so many statutes are plaine and exprefs, as in this case, 'tis in vain to alledge what hath been done, and connived at, without questioning it, as a precedent to warrant the present breach of those statutes, or rather to annul them for ever. And they must also as much degenerate from Englishmen as from logick and law, who shall assert that the kings of England may acquire a right or power to themselves and their successors for ever, by their ancestors transgressing any statute, made to bound the regal power.

All true English have alwayes maintained with their blood, that our kings were limited by the laws, and that they broke their oaths if they did not carefully see to the execution of them. And in dayes of yore, they have been so far from
allowing

allowing the son and successor of a king to break any of the laws, because his father did so before him ; they have rejected the father because he kept not within the limits of the law, and taken the son, upon his promise not to walk by his father's example.

Sir, I have told you my thoughts upon the question, being satisfied that the king's will being declared upon record, that you should not hold parliament within the time limited by law, you were thereby dissolved, and the authorities given you by the people, did thereby cease and return into the people ; and the king's will that you should afterwards hold parliament again, being not agreeable to law, could not revive your power. And in my poor opinion, if you now assume to yourselves to exercise parliamentary powers, because the king will have it so, you must pass this fatal judgment against the old English government, That the king may lawfully prorogue you for forty years if he please, and may refuse for ever to hold a parliament ; and if such a judgment, seemingly passed in parliament against our fundamental laws and liberties, shall ever be left to the interpretation of any successors to our gracious king, who shall intend a tyranny, he shall claim by that record to be our absolute master, and neither lords nor commons to have any right to provide in common council for the defence of the realm, and their own good government and welfare, unless he please.

In fine, our innocent babes shall hereafter read in that record, that you judged yourselves and them to be perfect slaves, all prostitute to the will of the king. Doubtless if it be granted that the people have no right to parliaments, but at the king's will, we shall never have any king after this, that will tell us as king James did, in his speech to the parliament, held March 19, 1603, "That he was
" not ashamed to confess it his principal honour to be the
" great servant of the commonwealth, and that he knew
" himself to be ordained for the people, and not the people
" for him". I shall not advise you to come or stay; I have herein delivered my one soul, as becomes

Your faithful and affectionate friend,

H. P.

A SEASON-

A
SEASONABLE ARGUMENT

To perswade all the Grand Juries in England, to petition for

A NEW PARLIAMENT.

OR,

A LIST of the PRINCIPAL LABOURERS
IN THE

Great Design of Popery and Arbitrary Power ;

Who have betrayed their Country to the Conspirators, and bargained with
them to maintain a standing Army in England,

UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE BIGOTTED POPISH D—,

Who by the Assistance of the L. L's Scotch Army, the Forces in Ireland, and
those in France, hopes to bring all back to Rome.

Veritas non querit angulos.
Nunc omnia Romæ venalia.

By ANDREW MARVELL.

Amsterdam, Printed in the Year MDCLXXVII.

A
SEASONABLE ARGUMENT

To perswade all the Grand Juries in England to petition for

A. NEW PARLIAMENT.

O R,

A LIST of the Principal Labourers in the great Design
of POPERY and ARBITRARY POWER, &c.

BEDFORD.

S I R Humphrey Winch, Baronet, hath from the court
500*l. per annum* fallery; and was of the council of
trade for plantations.

BERKSHIRE.

- *Windfor.* Sir Thomas Higgon, Knight, hath a pension
of 500*l. per annum*, and hath had 4000*l.* in gifts; mar-
ried to the Earl of Bathes Sister.

Sir Francis Winnington, Knight, solicitor general to the
king, which place is worth 1500*l. per annum*.

Reading. Sir Thomas Doleman has 200*l. per annum*
pension, and was assisted by the court in the cheating will,
whereby he got Quarles his estate, valued at 1600*l.* now

clerk of the council, which is worth 500*l. per annum*, and is promised to be secretary of state.

Richard Aldsworth, Esquire, auditor in the Exchequer, which is worth 400*l. per annum*; he is also the Archbishops' secretary, and has got by boones, at several times, 3000*l.*

Wallingford. Sir John Bennet, Knight of the Bath, has got of the poor indigent cavaliers money 26000*l.* and otherwayes near 40000*l.* more.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Sir Richard Temple, commissioner of the customs, which is worth 1200*l. per annum*.

Buckingham Town. Sir William Smith, as honest as Sir Richard Temple.

Chipping Wicham. Sir Robert Sawyer, a lawyer of as ill reputation as his father, has had for his attendance this session 1000*l.* and is promised (as he insinuates) to be attorney general, and speaker of the House of Commons.

Agmondisham. Sir William Drake, Baronet, under the command of his father in law the chief Baron Montague, who enjoys 1500*l. per annum* during the kings pleasure.

CAMBRIDGSHIRE.

Sir Thomas Hatton, a man of no estate but his pension.

Sir Thomas Chicbley, master of the ordnance, and has had 2000*l.* given him, and the reversion of his place to his son.

University.

University. Sir Charles Wheeler, a foot captain, who once promised himself to be Master of the Roles, now governor of Mevis.

Town of Cambridge. William Lord Allington in debt very much, a court pensioner, and in hopes of a white staffe. *A Cully.*

CHESHIRE.

Thomas Chelmodly, promised a great place at court, but not only deceived but laught at, poor gentleman.

Chester. Robert Worden, Esquire, a betrayer of the old cavaliers (with Willis) and of Sir George Booth; the Duke of Yorks creature, and gentleman of his bed-chamber.

CORNWALL.

Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Baronet, one that is known to have sworn himself into 4000l. at least in his account of the prize-office, controller to the Duke, and has got in gratuities to the value of 10000l. besides what he is promised for being an informer.

Sir John Compton, Baronet, a commissioner of the prizes, and besides a patentee for setting up lights upon the sea coast.

Lanceston. Sir Charles Harbord, surveyor general, has got 100000l. of the king and kingdom; he was formerly a solicitor of Staples Inn, till his lewdness and poverty brought him to court.

Leskeard.

Leskeard. Bernard Greenvil, Esquire, a bed-chamber man, has got in boons at several times 20000l.

Helston. Sidney Godolphin, Esquire, a bed-chamber man.

Sir William Godolphin, Baronet, had 1200l. *per annum* out of the fee-farm rents, and governour of Scilly Island.

Truro. John Arundel, Esquire, his father from a small fortune raised to be a lord, and hath now 2000l. *per annum* pension out of the excise, and hath got in boons, 20000l.

Cammelford. Sir William Godolphin, Knight, under secretary to the Lord Arlington, now embassador in Spain, and lately turned papist, hath got in boons, 30000l.

West-Loe. John Trelawny, Esquire, cup-bearer to the king; captain to a troop of horse in Ireland, and 200l. *per annum* pension.

John Trelawny, Esquire, own son to honest Sir Jonathan Trelawny.

East-Loe. Charles Osborn, the treasurer's brother, has an office in the customs.

Henry Seymour, Esquire, of the bed-chamber, has the hanaper office, and is controller of the customs at London, has got 40000l. in dutchy leases, and other boons.

Bossiney. Robert Roberts, Esquire, victuals and protection in White-Hall, out of privilege time, and 50l. a session.

St.

St. Michael. Francis Lord Hawly, captain of his Majesty's troop, gentleman of the bed-chamber to the Duke, and court buffoon; has got in boons, 20000*l.*

St. Maws. Arthur Sprye, a commissioner of the prizes, 400*l. per annum* pension, has raised his estate from 100*l. per annum* to 800*l.* by being a member.

Sir Joseph Tredenham, the son of an attorney, and by marrying the speaker's sister has got a considerable pension.

Kellington. Sir Cyril Wych, secretary to the lieutenancy in Ireland; brother-in-law to the two Earls of Bath, and St. Albans.

CARLILE.

Sir Philip Howard, captain of the horse guards, got in patents and boons 4000*l.*

Sir Christopher Musgrave, Knight, captain of a foot company, 200*l. per annum* pension, and to succeed his father in the government of Carlile.

DEVONSHIRE.

Sir Copelston Bampffield, Baronet, much addicted to tippling, presented to the king by his pretended wife, Betty Roberts, the Pall Mall.

Exeter. Sir James Smith, Knight, major of the king's regiment, 10000*l.* in boons, kinsman to the Duke of Albemarle.

Thomas Walker, Esquire, a commissioner of the prizes where he feathered his nest to some purpose, 500*l.* this session besides preferring his brother to be collector of the customs of Exeter.

Totnes. Sir Edmond Seymour, Baronet, the Speakers father, and an indigent pensioner.

Sir Thomas Berry, Knight, a pensioner of 200*l.* *per annum*, got for him by the Lord Clifford his brother-in-law.

Plymouth. Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knight, master of the jewel-office.

Plimpton. Sir Nicholas Slanning, Knight of the Bath, Sir George Carteret's son-in-law, the kings carver, 2000*l.* in boons, and governour of Pendennis in reversion.

Honinton. Sir Courtney Pool, first mover of the chimney-money, for which he had——

Sir Peter Prideux, Knight, the Lord of Baths brother-in-law, constant court dinners and 300*l.* *per annum* pension.

Beer Alston. Sir John Maynard, Knight, the kings serjeant at law.

Tiverton. Sir Henry Ford, once secretary for Ireland, a pension of 300*l.* *per annum*, which is almost all he has to subsist on.

DORSETSHIRE.

Corfe. Lord Latimer, son to the lord treasurer.

Lime

Lime Regis. Sir John Shaw, once a vintners boy, got of the crown, out of the customs, and by other wayes, 60000l.

Weymouth. Sir Winston Churchil, was a commissioner of the court of claims in Ireland, now one of the clerks of the green-cloth. He profered his own daughter to the Duke of York, and has got in boons 10000l. He has published in print that the king may raise money without his parliament.

Bridport. George Boreman, Esquire, once an under clerk in the six clerks office, now master of the ballast office (a place no less oppressive than illegal) worth 1500l. *per annum.*

Warham. George Pitt, *quondam* fervant to the Duke of York, but turned out, and was promised to have the money; it cost him 2500l.

DURHAM.

John Tempest, Esquire, a papist, a pensioner and a court dinner man, has got a customers place at Hull for his son,

ESSEX.

Harwich. Thomas King, Esquire, a pensioner for 50l. a session, &c. meat and drink, and now and then a suite of clothes.

GLOUCESTER.

Sir Baynham Throgmorton, a grant of Kingswood Forrest, and 200*l.* *per annum.*

Malden. Sir Richard Wifeman, a 1000*l.* *per annum* pension, and keeper of one of the treasurers publick parliamentary tables.

Sir William Wifeman, at Sir Richards *devotion.*

HANTSHIRE.

Winchester. Sir Robert Holmes, first an Irish livery boy, then a highwayman, now Bashaw of the Isle of Wight, got in boones, and by rapine 100000*l.* The cursed beginner of the two Dutch wars.

Laurence Hide, the elder, a pension of 200*l.* *per annum*, and a constant court dinner man.

Southampton. Sir Richard Ford, Knight, contriver of the two Dutch wars, for which he had 10000*l.* and yet is scarce able to live.

Thomas Knowles, Esquire, the treasurers kinsman, 400*l.* *per annum* pension.

Portsmouth. Sir George Carteret, Baronet, a Frenchman, vice-chamberlain to the once treasurer of Ireland, and the navy, in which two places he cheated the crown of 400000*l.* as upon account was made apparent. He has wisely conveyed great part of his estate beyond sea, therefore deservedly made a privy counsellor.

Petersfield.

Petersfield. Thomas Neal, Esquire, now turned brewer since he has consumed a rich wifes fortune, and his own estate ; he has a promise his son shall marry Moll Daveys's daughter, and to be made a Viscount, and maintained if his brewhouse fail. Formerly called Golden Neal, now, Brazen Groom Porter.

Stockbridge. Sir Robert Howard, auditor of the receipts of the Exchequer, worth 3000l. *per annum* ; many great places and boons he has had, but his W. Uphill, spends all, and now refuses to marry him.

Robert Philips, Esquire, bed-chamberman, got in gifts 20000l.

Newton in the Isle of Wight. Sir John Holmes, Sir Ross's brother, a cowardly baffled sea captain, twice boxed, and once whipped with a dog whip, as many gentlemen can testify ; chosen in the night, without the head officer of the town, and but one burghers, yet voted well elected this last session.

Sir Kingsmill Lucy, Baronet, has had 1000l. and promised a court place.

HEREFORD.

Thomas Price, Esquire, 500l. given him, and 300l. *per annum* pension, and protection in Whitehall during prorogations.

City

City of Hereford. Herbert Westphalin, Esquire, 500l. in money, and an office in the Custom-house, worth 150l. *per annum*.

Webley. Sir John Barnaby, Knight, 500l. given him.

Sir Thomas Williams, once a poor quack chymist, now the king's chymist, has got at least 40000l. by making provocatives for letchery, and yet at this time all his land is under extent, and his protection only keeps him out of prison.

HARTFORDSHIRE.

Sir Richard Franklin, a pension of 400l. *per annum*.

HUNTINGDON.

Town. Sir John Cotton, a madman, who cut his own throat, and now cuts his countrys by his vote.

Sir Lionel Walden, 8000l. in the king's debt, a Blackheath captain, and a Papist, at present has a company of foot, and a 1000l. given him.

KENT.

Sir Thomas Peyton, the coal farm, worth 2000l. *per annum*, has had many boons, and yet has spent all, and his own estate to boot. This is Peyton the informer.

Canterbury. Sir Edward Masters, Knight, a great wittall, &c.

Thomas Hardnes, Serjeant at Law promised to be a Judge.

Rocheſter.

Rocheſter. Sir Francis Clerk, a commiſſioner of the prizes, and a conſtant receiver of all publick money, and a conſtant diner at court tables.

Maidſtone. Thomas Harlackenden, Eſquire, whoſe only livelyhood is in his penſion.

Sir Robert Barnham alſo.

Quinborough. James Herbert, Eſquire, is but fifteen years old, but ſon-in-law to the treaſurer, and therefore of age to diſpoſe of the peoples money.

LANCASHIRE.

County. Sir Roger Bradshaw, a Papist, has a leaſe from the crown.

Lancaſter. Richard Kirby, Eſquire, one of a very ſmall eſtate, a captain of guards, and a commiſſioner for the hackney coaches, has had 500l. in boones.

Richard Harrifon, Eſquire, a ſmall penſion proportionable to his underſtanding.

Preſton. Edward Rigby, Eſquire, ſerjeant at law, promiſed to be a Welch judge.

Sir John Oteway, ſolicitor of the Dutchy, and a conſiderable boon in the fee-farm rents.

Newton. Richard Lord Gorges, a penſion of 500l. *per annum.*

Clitheroe. Sir John Heath, attorney of the Dutchy, a great drinker, and a suspected papist.

Sir Thomas Stringer, a dancing-masters son, got 30000*l.* under the Duke of Albemarle.

Wiggon. Charles, Earl of Ancram, a poor Scot, 500*l.* *per annum* pension.

Sir Jeoffery Shackerly, governour of Chester, a pension of 500*l.* *per annum.*

LEICESTERSHIRE.

County. George Fount, Esquire, 500*l.* out of the last tax, and is a constant receiver of all taxes.

Town. Sir William Hartop, a pension of 200*l.* *per annum*, and promised to be clerk of the kitchen; threatens to sue his town for his wages, because he hears they'll choose him no more.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Sir Robert Carr, Baronet, 20,000*l.* in boones. Chancellor of the Dutchy. Two wives living at this time; one, Arlington's sister.

Grimsbj. William Broxholm, Esquire, an indigent papist, has had 5000*l.* given him.

Stamford. Peregrine Bertie, Esquire, the treasurer's brother-in-law, has a pension and a troop of horse.

MIDDLESEX.

Sir Lancelot Lake, much in debt, has a promise that his elder brother's son shall not be naturalized, a notorious cuckold.

Sir Thomas Allon, whose understanding is as great as his honesty, a close embracer of rogues, had a boon of 1000l.

Westminster. Sir Philip Warwick, once secretary to Archbishop Laud, before that a poor singing-boy, got artificially from the treasurer Southampton, and the king, 40,000l. now clerk of the signet: never lyes more than when he professes to speak the sincerity of his heart.

Sir Richard Everard 500l. and that being near spent, must have more, or seek a new way to get bread.

NORFOLK.

Christopher Ivy, Esquire, a prisoner in the King's Bench, an old decrepid lecher, has 50l. a session.

Norwich. Francis Cory, Esquire. No better than Ivy.

Lynn Regis. Robert Cook, Esquire, the treasurer's son-in-law, who by his privilege protects himself from the payment of the money (viz. 8000l.) that was spent at his election.

Robert Wright, Esquire, Pepis his pensioner, and has 40s. a day allowed him by the seamen, as their council, but uses them as he does the nation, viz. betr.

Yarmouth. Sir William Doyley, got 7000*l.* out of the Dutch prisoners allowance, and starved many of them to death, a pension of 500*l.* *per annum*; his son is a teller in the Exchequer.

Thetford. Sir Allen Apfley, the king's falconer, worth 1200*l.* *per annum*, the Duke's treasure, worth ———, got by boones and other acts, 60,000*l.* a red letter man, if of any religion.

Sir Joseph Williamson, once a poor foot-boy, then a servitor, now principal secretary of state; and pensioner to the French king.

Castle Rising. Samuel Pepys, Esquire, once a taylor, then serving-man to the Lord Sandwich, now secretary to the admiralty, got by passes and other illegal ways 40000*l.*

NORTHAMPTON.

Town. Henry Lord Obryon, by his wife's interest has got of secretary Williamson, 1500*l.* and the reversion of Cobham Park, and other estates that were in the crown, worth 13,000*l.* *per annum*, his son married the treasurer's daughter.

Higham Ferris. Sir Lewis Palmer, a great trader in protections, and sells cheap; his father was attorney-general.

Brackley. Robert Spencer, Esquire, a bed-chamber-man to the king, and in debt over ears.

NORTHUM-

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Sir John Fenwick, a captain under the duke of Monmouth, and promised a place at court, had 2000*l.* given him for his election.

Sir Ralph Delaval, had 2000*l.* given him, and has a pension of 500*l.* *per annum.*

Newcastle. Sir Francis Anderfon, a pensioner to the treasurer.

Morpeth. Sir George Downing, a poor child, bred upon charity; like Judas, betrayed his master. What then can his country expect? He drew and advised the oath of renouncing the king's family, and took it first himself. For his honesty, fidelity, &c. rewarded by his Majesty with 80,000*l.* at least, and is a commissioner of the customs, the house bell, to call the courtiers to vote at six o'clock at night, an Exchequer teller.

Berwick. Daniel Collingwood, Esquire, a court janizary, a pensioner of 300*l.* *per annum*, governor of Holy-Island.

Viscount Dunblain, fifteen years old, the treasurer's son, bribed the mayor falsely to return him.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Sir Francis Leake, Baronet, governour of the blockhouse at Gravesend, a foot company, and 500*l.* in money.

East-Retford. Sir Edward Dearing, Baronet, commissioner of the court of claims in Ireland; the chancellor's brother-in-law, promised to be secretary of state after Coventry, now commissioner of the customs in London, worth 1200l. *per annum*.

OXFORDSHIRE.

University. Lawrence Hyde, master of the robes to the king, has had in boons 20,000l.

Woodstock. Thomas Howard, Esquire, the Lord of Suffolk's brother, 400l. *per annum* pension.

RUTLAND.

Edward Noel, Esquire, Lord Lieutenant of Hants, Lord Warden of the New Forrest, and other great favours promised him; which he need not doubt of, being the treasurer's nephew.

SHROPSHIRE.

Sir *Francis Lawley*, a pensioner, one of the horses in Madam Fontlett's coach.

Ludlow. Somerset Fox, a pension of 300l. *per annum*.

Sir Job Charlton, serjeant at law, chief justice of Chester, a dull Welch judge, 500l. *per annum* for his speaker's place.

Wenlock. George Wild, Esquire, a commissioner of the Excise in Ireland, 2000l. in money; a declared enemy to his country.

Bishops Castle. Edmond Waring, Esquire, a commissioner of the Excise, a pension to keep him out of prison. Sir Job Charlton's brother-in-law.

William Oakley, Esquire, brother-in-law to Charlton and Waring, has a small pension.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Bath. Sir William Bassett, Henry Seymour's son-in-law, 1000*l.* given him by Chifford; he has a promise of a place in the law act, alwayes drunk when he can get money.

Wells. Maurice Lord Fitzharding, one of that family which had from the crown in boons and places 200,000*l.* besides the unnatural honour given to the younger brother for pimping, which came afterwards to the father, and so to this lord. He's colonel of horse in Ireland.

Taunton. Sir William Portman, in hopes to be a lord, much priest ridden.

Bridgwater. Sir Edmond Windham, knight-marshal, in boons, 5000*l.* His wife was the king's nurse.

Mynhead. Thomas Windham, Esquire, bed-chamberman to the king, as also equerry. He married a court —.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Randal Edgerton, Esquire, a captain in the guards, has had in boons 10,000*l.*

Litchfield.

Litchfield. Richard Diet, Esquire, a sea captain, kinsman to Sir Robert Car, 400*l.* *per annum* pension.

Walter Chetwind, courted, treated, and complimented out of his vote.

Newcastle under Line. Leviston Gower, Esquire, son-in-law to the Earl of Bath, had a great estate fell to him by chance, but honesty and wit never came by accident.

S U F F O L K.

Sir Henry Felton, a pensioner, and his son a bed-chamber man.

Dunwich. Sir John Pettus, a pension of 300*l.* *per ann.* all his estate is under extent.

William Wood, Esquire, master of the king's dock, and his shipwright, and a violent man for taxes.

Sudbury. Sir Robert Cordel, a poor gentleman, that has almost spent all.

Major Cornwall, a pension of 200*l.* *per annum*, and a captain in the army.

Eye. Sir George Reeves, though of a great estate, yet content with a small pension and promises, that he shall be paid a great sum of money that he has in the banker's hands. Of no religion.

Robert Reeves, his son; no less than the treasurer's table is sufficient to feed his monstrous carcase.

Edmunds

Edmunds Bury. Sir John Duncomb, a pensioner of 2000*l.* *per annum*; in boons 20,000*l.*

William Duncomb, his son, *patrissare*.

SURREY.

Sir Adam Brown, Baronet, the treasurers cousin german, and the Duke of Yorks vassal.

Southwark. Sir Thomas Bloodworth, a mercenary Alderman of London, not to be forgotten for his pissing out the fire.

Blechingley. Sir William Hayward, a commissioner in the sale of the fee-farm rents, by which he got 2000*l.* a privy chamber man, and 2000*l.* in money.

Sir Edward Bych, King at Arms, 100*l.* a session, yet very poor.

Rygate. Sir John Worden, the Duke of Yorks secretary, a favourer of Popery.

Guilford. Thomas Delinghoy, Esquire, a Scotch serving-man, a creature of Lauderdale, chosen by the Duke of York, who was in pension at his election, and voted for him.

Sir William Morley, Knight of the Bath, a constant court dinner man.

SUSSEX.

Chichester. Richard May, Esquire, a lawyer, Recorder of Chichester, a pensioner, and promised to be heir to Bap. May, if he vote.

Horsham.

Horsham. Sir John Covett, Baronet, wheedled with promises, much in debt.

Midhurst. Baptift May, Esquire, privy purse, 1000*l.* *per annum* allowance, got besides in boons for secret service, 40,000*l.* This is he that said, “ 500*l.* *per annum* was enough “ for a country gentleman to drink ale, eat beef, and to “ stink with, &c.”

Lewis. Sir John Stapely, an indigent.

Sir Thomas Woodcock, Deputy Governour of Windsor Castle, a foot company, 200*l.* *per annum* pension. He set up a deed to gain his nieces estate, which was found to be forged by a jury at the King’s Bench Bar, and now stands upon his privilege, to prevent a decree in Chancery to have it cancelled.

Staining. Henry Goring, Esquire, 200*l.* *per annum* pension, and court dinners.

Bramber. Pierce Goring, Esquire, 200*l.* *per annum* pension.

Newshoram. Henry Goring, Esq. 500*l.* and promised a pension.

East-Grinstead. Edward Sackvil, Esquire, lieutenant to the yeomen of the guard.

Arundel. Roger, Earl of Orrery, president of Munster, and a regiment of horse in Ireland.

Francis Vicount Langford, formerly treasurer of Ireland, which he sold for 14,000*l.* now a pension of 500*l.* *per annum.*

WARWICKSHIRE.

Sir Robert Holt, Baronet, 1000*l.* given him and protection from his creditors ; brought out of goal this last session, when outlawed after judgement.

Sir Henry Puckering, alias Newton, paymaster to the Popish standing army, and allowance for keeping a table every session.

Warwick Town. Sir Francis Compton Knight, captain of a troop of horse.

WESTMORLAND.

Sir Philip Musgrave, Baronet, a regiment of foot, governor of Carlile ; giving him in fee-farm-rents 6000*l.*

Appleby. Thomas Tufton, Esquire, bed-chamber-man to the Duke of York.

WILTSHIRE.

New-Sarum. Sir Stephen Fox, from a poor foot-boy, and then singing-boy, has got in place by the court, 15000*l.* clerk of the green cloth.

Wilton. Sir John Berkenhead, a poor alehouse-keepers son, got by lying, to be one of the masters of the request and faculty office ; in boons 3000*l.*

* *Hindon.* Edward Seymour had for four years 2000*l.* pension to betray the country party, for which he then appeared. But since he hath shewn himself barefaced, and is trea-

furor of the navy, and speaker; one of the commissioners of the admiralty, and of the popish cabal.

Robert Hyde, Esquire, had sold his vote before he came into the House, and had 1000*l.* for this last (his first) session.

Westbury. Thomas Wanklin, Esquire, once a poor serving-man, now one of the commissioners of the excise in Ireland, and 50*l.* a session. Kept an inn at Kingston three years, now keeps a tavern in Essex-buildings in the Strand.

Devizes. George Johnson, Esquire, a lawyer, and a Welch judge, the treasurers solicitor, and an impudent—has the reversion of the Master of the Rolls, but some say that's onely in trust for Baron Bertie.

Chipenham. Francis Gwyn, Esquire, one of the commissioners of the excise in Ireland, had 500*l.* given him.

Malmesbury. Philip Howard, Esquire, of the Dukes bed-chamber, 300*l.* *per annum* pension.

Sir Thomas Escourt, reversioner of the Judge of the Marshalsee, his fathers own son, converted to the Church of Rome by his young handsome mother-in-law, with whom he's very inward.

Crecklade. Sir John Earnly, a commissioner of the navy, and chancellour of the Exchequer, alwayes votes as directed.

Bedwin. Henry Clerk, an indigent commissioner of the prizes, and a place in the custom-house at Bristol worth 200l. *per annum*.

Ludgarshal. Daniel Finch, Esquire, the Chancellors son. William Ashburnham, Esquire, got by the court 50000l. cofferer.

George Leg, Esquire, supposed to be a papist, of the Dukes bed-chamber, and governour of Portsmouth, in boons 40000l.

Old Sarum. Sir Edward Nicholas, Knight, got by the court 10000l.

Malborough. Sir John Elwes, Knight, very poor but a place in Ireland, of 300l. *per annum*, a court admirer.

W O R C E S T E R S H I R E.

Sam Sandys fenior, Esquire, a boon given him in the excise which he sold for 13500l.

Worcester. Thomas Street, Esquire, a Welch judge, promised other preferments, had 500l. given him.

Dailwich. Sam. Sandys, junior, Esq. son of 13500l.

Henry Coventry, secretary of state, the breaker of the Triple League, as he himself affirmed when he went to Sweden.

Evesham. Sir John Hanmer, a prodigal gentleman of the horse to the master of the horse; commissioner of the

excise in Ireland, and a troop of horse in Ireland, 2000l. given him in money.

YORKSHIRE.

Conyers Darcy, Esquire, assisted by the court in stealing the Lord Lexingtons sister from her guardian for his son.

Sir Thomas Slingsby, governour of Scarborough castle, never gave his country one vote, who voted all for him when chosen Knight of the Shire.

Knareborough. Valiant Sir John Talbot, a foot company, a company of dragoons, a commissioner of the prizes, of the excise, and for the sale of fee-farm-rents, 800l. *per annum* out of the Wiltshire excise, the reversion of the Jewel-office.

Rippon. Sir John Nicholas, Knight of the Bath, clerk of the council, got by the court 40000l.

Sir Edmond Jennings, made high sheriffe of Yorkshire (against a vote of parliament) which is worth 1000l. promised a pension, and place at court.

Heddon. Henry Guy, Esq. groom of the-bed-chamber.

Alborough. Sir Solomon Swayl, Baronet, one whose word will not pass for 3d. where he is known, got by the court 600l. an old papist, if not priest, but his bald pate excuses his tonsure; a forger of wills.

Sir John Risby, the treasurers creature, sold himself and country to him.

Thriſk

Thrifk. Sir William Wentworth, Sir Allen Apsleys son in law, much in debt; his wife has a place under the Dutcheſs of York, he a penſion of 500l. *per annum*; in boons 3000l.

North Allerton. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, a ſouldier of fortune; he has got by the court, and the late biſhop of Durham (whoſe daughter he married) 30000l. but at preſent it is moſt ſpent; but he hopes his friend the treaſurer will repair all breaches.

Pontefract. Sir William Lowther, commiſſioner of the cuſtomes, a man whoſe honeſty and integrity oftener fails him than his wit.

CINQUE PORTS.

Haftings. Sir Dennis Aſhburnham, married Mr John Aſhburnham's daughter, got in places 10000l.

Rye. Sir John Robinson, Baronet, lieutenant of the Tower, got in places and gifts, by his wifes intereſt and otherwayes, 40000l. ſheriff of London at the execution of Dr. Hewit, and a notorious R. in the late times.

Hithe. John Harvey, Eſquire, the queens treaſurer, that told the king, he had been voting againſt his conſcience to ſerve his Maſteſty.

Sir Leolin Jenkins, ſon of a taylour, Judge of the Admiralty, was in hopes to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury; imployed in four embaffies, and whoſe indefatigable induſtry in

in promoting a peace for France, has been our — ; he affirmed in the House of Commons, “ That upon necessity “ the King might raise monies without act of parliament.”

Dover. George Montague, Esquire, Abbot Montagues brother, master of St. Katherines Hospital, in gifts 3000l.

Sandwich. John Stroud, governour of Dover, commissioner of the prizes, got by several indirect wayes, from the king and kingdom, 10000l.

Bew Morris. John Robinson, Esquire, 400l. *per annum* pension.

W A L E S.

Brecknock. Sir Herbert Price, Baronet, master of the household, got in boons 10000l.

Cardiganshire. Sir Charles Cotterel, master of the ceremonies, got in gifts, 11000l.

Carmarthen-Town. John Lord Vaughan, governour of Jamaica, 1000l. *per annum* pension.

Robert Lord Bulkley, the chancellours brother-in-law, by whose meanes he is guardian to Sir William Williams ; worth 1000l. *per annum* to him.

Denbysire. John Wyn, Esquire, 400l. given him in money.

Flintshire. Sir Thomas Hanmer, Baronet, 500l. *per annum* pension.

Flint.

Flint. Roger Wheatly, Esquire, Knight Harbenger, farmer of the Post-Office, by which he got a vast estate.

Merioneth. Andrew Newport, Esquire, 400*l.* *per annum* pension ; a squire of the body.

The publisher begs pardon of those gentleman here named, if he has for want of better information undervalued the price and merit of their voices, which he shall be ready upon their advertisement to amend : but more particularly he must beg the excuse of many more gentlemen, no less deserving, whom he hath omitted ; not out of any malice, or for want of good will, but of timely notice ; but in general, the House was, if they please to remember, this last session, by three of their own members told, that there were several Papists, fifty outlaws, *and pensioners* without number : so that upon examination, they may arrive at a better knowledge amongst themselves, and do one another more right, than we (howsoever well affected) can possibly do without doors.

THE END OF



00097127

